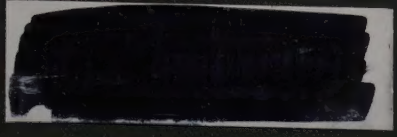

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HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

THOMAS F. MEEHAN, STEPHEN FARRELLY
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CONTENTS

Page

Father John Bapst, S.J., and the "Ellsworth Outrage"..... 7
By the Rev. Gerald C. Treacy, S.J.

Know Nothingism in Rochester, New York..... 20
By the Rev. Frederick J. Zwierlein, D.Sc., M.H.

The Mullanphys of St. Louis..... 70
By the Rev. Laurence Kenny, S.J.

The James Dudley Morgan Collection of L'Enfant Papers.. 112
By Margaret B. Downing

The Mission to Liberia..... 120
Diary of the Rev. John Kelly

The Jesuits in South America..... 154
Contributed by the Rev. John F. O'Hara, C.S.C.

The General Meeting..... 160
Editor

The Second Intercollegiate Historical Contest..... 181
Prize Essay, "Catholic Day," Marie Thérèse Marique

Necrology 196
Editor

List of Members..... 201

Index to Volumes XIII and XIV..... 208
Compiled by E. P. Herbermann

FATHER JOHN BAPST, S.J., AND THE "ELLSWORTH OUTRAGE."

By the Rev. Gerald C. Treacy, S.J.

It is more than a hundred years since John Bapst was born. He is one of those who did big things in the dawn days of the Church in America, and, like a great many others, whose labors in the nineteenth century made the triumphs and consolations of the twentieth century possible, too little is known about him. Readers of the publications of our Catholic historical societies have found mention of his name in connection with early ecclesiastical happenings. Ellsworth and Boston remember him. It may prove interesting to those who have heard of the "Ellsworth Outrage" to learn a little more of the remarkable man who was its central figure.

John Bapst was a Swiss, born at La Roche, a village in the canton of Fribourg, December 7, 1815. He never lost his love for his native land, and even in the closing days of his life, after giving the best that was in him to the land of his adoption, his eyes would sparkle at the mention of his beloved Switzerland. His native country did not treat him well. He was exiled for being a Jesuit and it was during this exile that the call came to serve in the missions. He was making his Third Probation with a group of young Jesuit priests at Notre Dame d'Ay in the year 1848 when with a number of others he was directed to take ship for America. We generally imagine that the object of missionary apostolate grips the mind of a man in early life and fires him with a holy ambition that must be satisfied. It is a dominating thought persisting and clamoring for fulfilment. In many cases this is true. It certainly was not true of John Bapst. He never

thought of the missions. And when the command came to go he did just what any soldier would do. He went. "I am ordered to America, and I have never thought of that land. I do not believe I was ever made for the missions." This was his plain, manly way of stating his feelings to his friends.

Father Ignatius Brocard was the Jesuit Provincial of the Maryland province when the band of Swiss exiles arrived in New York. He had been the Provincial of the Swiss province. He welcomed his fellow countrymen to the new land of the West and ordered John Bapst to the Indian Mission at Old Town, Maine. For twenty years Old Town had not received the ministrations of a priest. In a letter written on June 10, 1850, Father Bapst gives a good description of his early apostolate among the Red Men. The letter is to his intimate friend Father Duverney. He thanks this priest for some favors received and then proceeds to tell him of Old Town:

[1]"The Mission of Old Town was founded by a father of the old Society Father Rasle. After he had converted the savages of Maine at the cost of immense sacrifices he was at last butchered by the Protestants at the foot of a cross which he himself had erected. This tribe of Indians continued to be directed by our fathers until the suppression of the Society. It was on the 7th of August, the anniversary of the re-establishment of the Society, that I came in the name of that same Society to take possession anew of that precious inheritance of our ancient fathers. I had imagined on my arrival that all the Indians were good Catholics. But my illusion did not last long. During nearly twenty years they have been without a priest and they have lost both faith and morals. . . . Their language which has no analogy to any living tongue seems to be derived from the Hebrew. This conjecture is confirmed by the opinion of some American historians who make our Indians descendants of the Jews. . . . One of the most deplorable vices prevalent among the Indians is drunkenness. . . . For more than twenty years an evil has had sway among them which is probably incurable, I speak of party divisions which divide them into two hostile camps. Twenty years ago the great chief without the consent of the savages sold some of the common tribal

[1]*Woodstock Letters,* Vol. XVII, No. 2.

land. Infuriated by this, half of the savages left him and chose another chief. At that moment the demon of discord gripped the heart of Old Town. . . . Each year sees the savages come to Old Town to tear one another to pieces. . . . Since my arrival two years ago I have already assisted at two of these civil wars, *'quorum magna pars fui.'* . . . A chief of a distant tribe had been called to act as mediator between the parties at war. . . . The conference was interesting. After he had spoken the orators of each party spoke in turn. Theirs is a savage eloquence, but I do not believe that in the eloquence of our greatest orators in the national assembly at Paris can there be found anything so natural, strong and just. I was astonished. Their language abounds in figures and is graceful and delicate. It is nature that speaks but nature freed from the trammels to which overwrought civilization often subjects our greatest orators. It is a robust nature that, unfolding itself like the oak of the forest, is full of life and majesty. Those who represent the Indians as a degenerate race are certainly wrong. Generally their judgment is sounder, their mind more masculine, their character more energetic and their passions stronger than the whites. . . . After the orators had finished, the mediator gave his decision. During the conference I was given a place of honor. . . . "

The conference did not bring peace. As a peace conference it was not unique in this, as recent history has proved. It was followed by renewal of hostilities. Saddened by the strife Father Bapst wondered if the mission was doomed to failure. He had his first Confirmation as pastor of the Indian settlement, and shortly after the Bishop, Dr. Fitzpatrick, left Old Town the pastor was face to face with another trial. Cholera broke out and death reaped a plentiful harvest in Old Town. The island's population was decimated. When the epidemic abated John Bapst went to Boston to report the condition of the Old Town Mission to his Provincial. In September, 1850, Father Bapst left Old Town for Eastport. Eastport was to be the center of the many Jesuit missions in Maine. The factions in Old Town made an exclusively Indian apostolate impossible. So while not abandoning the children of the forest he decided not to live among them any longer. In a letter written at the time he says:

"The reasons of my withdrawal from permanent residence among the Indians are the following: First, the Bishop of Boston has confided to my care a mission made up of French and Irish, scattered over a territory more than one hundred and forty miles in circumference, and as Eastport appeared to be the most central point that town was chosen as our head-quarters in preference to Old Town. Second, as a faction among the Indians which we may fitly term the 'radical party' had formed a species of schism from the Church, the Bishop of Boston and Rev. Fr. Provincial thought it advisable to teach the refractory a salutary lesson by withdrawing the priest from them."

He had been three years and one month among the Penosbscot warriors. With all their waywardness they loved the Black Robe. On the September day that he withdrew from the island they followed him to the river bank and showed by no uncertain signs that they mourned his departure. A weeping Indian is a rare sight. It was common on that day when the brave Swiss priest left his charges and transferred his residence to Eastport. He was not abandoning them altogether, he told them, as they crowded to the river's edge. They were still his parishioners, and he would come to them from time to time and minister to them.

At Eastport Father Bapst was joined by two other Jesuits, Fathers Hippolyte de Neckere and Force. They covered a territory fully 200 square miles in extent and cared for nearly 9,000 souls scattered throughout this territory. The number of missions visited by this little band of Jesuits was thirty-three, and at many of these, new churches had to be built. The field took in the State of Maine with the exception of Bangor, Portland, Whitefield and Augusta and a few stations connected with the last two places. After three years and a half of labor he could state in his official report of the Mission that thirteen churches had been erected without a penny of debt on them. Of these churches, or chapels, none was dependent on a central mission for support. There had been eight mission chapels, most of them in an unfinished condition when the bickerings of the Penobscot Indians made a change of residence necessary for their pastor, and made Eastport a mission center. The good effected by this change

can be measured by the fact that there were thirteen finished chapels after a few years and no debts.

In the beginning of August, 1852, Father De Neckere was replaced by Father Vigilante, and Father Pacciarini succeeded Father Force. Writing to the Maryland Provincial at this time, Father Bapst urged the increase of his missionary staff. His superior's answer came in the arrival of Father Kennedy. In December, 1852, Father Bapst wrote to the Provincial: "The arrival of Father Kennedy gives me the chance to realize the plan so long in contemplation, namely, to keep two houses, one in Eastport and one in Ellsworth. Now, if God continues to give us his blessing, I hope that we shall do something for his glory in the wild State of Maine, without being so much exposed as we were for years past."

In the early part of 1853 Father Bapst took up permanent residence at Ellsworth. Though not the first priest to visit Ellsworth he was the first to reside there. Before the end of his first year of residence he had erected a new church. He remained at Ellsworth until June, 1854, visiting Bangor at intervals. Nor did he neglect Old Town where his first charge had been. And the Indians always welcomed him. In June, 1854, Father Bapst changed his residence to Bangor. His success at Ellsworth and the opposition it created was the cause of the change. According to his own account his labors had been rewarded by many conversions. These were the days of the Know Nothing party and bigoted feeling ran high. The Jesuit was denounced from Protestant pulpits, and in the Ellsworth press, as a perverter of the young. Then further trouble was caused by the school situation. The Catholic children in the Ellsworth schools were forced to read the Protestant Bible and recite Protestant prayers. Father Bapst opened a Catholic school in the old mission chapel for the children who had been expelled from the Ellsworth schools for refusing to submit to the school committee's ruling, making the reading of the Protestant Bible and the recitation of Protestant prayers obligatory on all the pupils. The establishment of a Catholic school infuriated the bigots. One night they blew up the old chapel building with gun powder. Then came a controversy with a Protestant minister with Father Bapst the victor. The Know Nothing answer to the priest's controversial triumph was

an attack on his house. On June 3, 1854, the windows of the rectory were smashed and on June 6 a mob broke the windows of the church. All the while the Ellsworth *Herald* kept up a daily tirade against the Catholic religion in its columns, and on Sundays the Protestant ministers attacked the church from their pulpits. The Bishop of Boston decided that it was better for Father Bapst to change his residence to Bangor. In July word came to Father Bapst at Bangor that the Ellsworth bigots had attempted to burn down the church. The fire was discovered by Amory Otis, one of the fair-minded Protestant citizens, and extinguished before any great damage was done. Father Bapst, at the direction of Bishop Fitzpatrick, did not visit Ellsworth even on Sundays. Another priest took his place.

After the destruction of the school house the Protestants feared Catholic reprisals. The better disposed among them decided to call a public meeting to protest against the outrage. This meeting was called on July 8, 1854. The Know Nothing element prevailed, outnumbering the others four to one. Then, with all the hatred they were capable of, these bigots passed the following resolutions after the respectable Protestant citizens had withdrawn:

"July 8, 1854—Moved by George W. Madox:—That, if John Bapst, S.J., be found again on Ellsworth soil we will provide for him, and try on an entire suit of new clothes, such as cannot be found at the shops of any taylor (*sic*), and then when thus apparelled he be presented with a free ticket to leave Ellsworth upon the first railroad operation that may go into effect.

"Voted that the resolutions adopted at this meeting be published in the Ellsworth *Herald* and *Eastern Freeman*.

"Voted that we now adjourn sine die.

W. A. Chany, Town Clerk."[1]

The reading of the resolutions was greeted with loud applause and they were unanimously adopted, as the Democrats and Liberal Republicans had left the hall when they realized that the Know Nothings were in control.

Father Bapst in his Bangor home heard of the meeting but

[1]Ellsworth Town Records—Case of John Bapst, S. J.

he did not believe the bigots were bitter enough to carry these inhuman resolutions into effect. In October he went to Ellsworth. It was on Saturday evening, the fourteenth of the month. He was to say Mass the next day. He stopped at the house of a Catholic citizen named Kent. When night set in a mob came to the house and demanded that Mr. Kent hand over the priest. Mr. Kent urged Father Bapst to hide in the cellar while he spoke to the leaders. His speech was useless and only provoked the cry: "If you don't produce him we will burn down your house and roast him alive." Father Bapst heard this threat and came out of the cellar. With a chorus of yells they greeted him and dragged him out of the house and up the road. They placed him on a sharp rail and thus carried him along, yelling, hooting and cursing him. Arriving at a lonely place they took his watch and money. Then they stripped him naked. They bound him to a tree. They piled brush all around him and tried to set it on fire. As their supply of matches gave out he was saved from death by fire. The sheriff hearing of the outrage went out with his posse after the mob. A shower of stones greeted this official's arrival at the scene and the lantern in his hand was smashed. He pulled a pistol on the wild, shouting throng and threatened to fire. This had the desired effect and the mob dispersed. But Father Bapst was nowhere to be found. It seems that when they had tarred and feathered him and saw there was no way of burning him alive they sent a group of their followers to take him into Ellsworth in his pitiable condition. This band ordered him to get out of the town that night. They would kill him, they said, if he attempted to say Mass next day.

Going into the town the sheriff and his followers found Father Bapst at the house of Mr. Kent. He was smeared with tar and feathers and well-nigh exhausted. A Protestant gentleman with the sheriff's posse declared in his account of the affair: "As I stood there and saw the poor priest's hair and eyebrows shaved off, for it was impossible to get the tar out otherwise, I vowed that I should fight fanaticism till I died." This gentleman was a friend of Father Bapst and in the Portland *Argus,* in September, 1884, under the *nom de plume* of "Lumberman," he gave an interesting account of the Ellsworth outrage. He writes in part:

"Father Bapst preached next day in his church, for although of a very mild disposition he had the heart of a lion in the cause of duty. That Sunday we feared the mob would gather again. The Hon. Charles Jarvis, one of the leading Protestants of the town, took the Father to his home, protected him all night and drove him to Bangor in his carriage next day. . . . The respectable people of Bangor were as much incensed at the outrage as we were at Ellsworth. We resolved to punish the ruffians and got Hon. George Evans, then Attorney General of the State, formerly United States Senator, to come to Ellsworth to present the case to the Grand Jury. The Grand Jury however were all Know Nothings and refused to find indictments, although the evidence was most conclusive. Mr. Evans was so disgusted that he said he would not sleep a night in the town if he got a present of all the State. Late as it was he insisted on shaking the dust of Ellsworth from his feet.

"These facts I know to be accurately stated as I was a resident of Ellsworth at the time of the outrage and had been for thirty-six years. It was my birthplace and I knew all the facts and who were the perpetrators of the deed. And it is with shame I am forced to say . . . that they were our own citizens. And I am sorry to say that many who claimed to be our best citizens were the ringleaders. I knew every man in town and less than a dozen were Irish Protestants, and of these not one had anything to do with it."

On his return to Bangor, Father Bapst was received with kindness and sympathy by the people of that city irrespective of religious beliefs. They were a unit in denouncing the outrage at Ellsworth and the Protestants of Bangor called a public meeting to protest against the perpetration of a crime that was a disgrace to the State of Maine. Resolutions were read at this meeting and at its close a gold watch was given to Father Bapst. It bore the following inscription:

"To Rev. John Bapst, S. J.
From the Citizens of Bangor, Maine
As a Token of their High Esteem"

By special permission of the Jesuit General he was allowed to keep this watch. Up to within two years of his death he wore

it. It is now in the treasured historical collection of the Maryland-New York Province.

Up to 1859 Father Bapst continued at Bangor. He never again ministered at Ellsworth, but its spiritual wants were attended to by the other Jesuits who resided with him at Bangor. Early in the June of 1855 the corner stone of the new church of St. John the Evangelist was laid in Bangor by Bishop Bacon of Portland. It is a fine monument to Father Bapst's labors, his crowning achievement in the Maine missions. In September of 1859 the Jesuits withdrew from the State of Maine and handed over their charges to the diocesan clergy. Father Bapst was sent to Holy Cross College, Worcester, where he remained till the summer of 1860. In the autumn of that year the Scholasticate was opened at Boston College. This college had just been completed by Father John McElroy, then in his eightieth year. Father Bapst was made rector of the Scholasticate in September, 1860. On October 14 the Church of the Immaculate Conception was dedicated. In 1863 the Scholasticate was transferred to Georgetown, and in 1864 Boston College was opened with Father Bapst as vice-rector and pastor of the Church of the Immaculate Conception. On the church alone, when he took office, there was a debt of $150,000. The interest on the church debt was $9,000, while the revenue was $6,000. Father Bapst called a meeting of the members of the congregation and gave them a financial statement. The result of the meeting was that Andrew Carney offered to give $20,000 if the congregation raised an equivalent sum. A church fair in April netted $27,000. In that same month, by the will of Andrew Carney, who had died suddenly, the church received securities that amounted to about $25,000. In 1867 another successful fair was held, netting a profit of $28,000.

Mr. Joseph Laforme, in his brief appreciation of Father Bapst that appeared in the *Woodstock Letters* for October, 1889, declared that what struck him in his experience as a member of a committee of six that had the financial situation to meet in those days of Civil War "hard times" was the remarkable ability Father Bapst displayed in surrounding himself with the "right men and of inspiring them with his own enthusiasm." How Father Bapst dealt with men in a straight man-to-man fashion is clear from Mr. Hugh Carey's account of that committee's

activities: "He would set to work on a plan like an old diplomat. Very often he would send for Mr. Laforme, Mr. McLoughlin and myself. 'Now Gentlemen,' he would say, 'you understand business affairs better than I do; please take the whole affair into your own hands and I will help you all I can.' Of course in a plan whose execution was left to us with such entire confidence we could not help but feel a personal interest, and we spared no effort to crown it with success. Herein I think is found the secret of Father Bapst's wonderful power of interesting his colaborers in his every plan; he made them feel he had entire confidence in them."

For nine years Father Bapst remained in charge of Boston College and the Church of the Immaculate Conception. He was a figure in the life of the city. Boston of those days was the seat of New England conservatism. Catholicism was in a struggling state. Bigotry was not a rare thing in the city that boasted of its intellectual pre-eminence. Nevertheless that hostile atmosphere did not dampen the ardor of the man who had faced bigotry at its worst. The gentle priest counted among his friends many of Boston's prominent Protestants. John A. Andrew, Massachusetts' famous War Governor was one who delighted in his intimacy with the Jesuit priest. Other names identified with the element that believed New England and Protestantism were synonymous are found in the list of Father Bapst's friends.

After a study of the character of John Bapst as it is revealed in his writings, I believe he was influential in the life of a city that was at that time distinctly Protestant, because he could evaluate with true perspective the salient points of the New England character, or the American character, of the early sixties. Whatever its failings, the American Protestant of those days was certainly strong in his convictions. There was nothing of the milk-and-water type of American Protestantism that we have with us today. Men and women of Civil War days had positive religious convictions and if they were intolerant, in many or most instances, they were sincere. They had an appreciation of the natural virtues and practised them oftentimes with splendid consistency. It is too big a question to discuss in detail, but my own conviction is that the bigotry of New England in the days of John Bapst was rooted in conviction, misguided of course, but in many instances dominated by a policy of prin-

ciple. While the modern product of American bigotry is in nearly every instance dominated by whim or expediency, founded on political motives, with none of the counterbalancing and extenuating circumstances that are to be found in the old-fashioned New England Puritan. John Bapst was quick to see that the American Protestant as he found him in Boston had a great many virtues. Though the Ellsworth outrage had taught him how bitterly cruel bigotry could become, it did not blind him to the fact that the educated American could be reached by the educated priest. Even in his day he noted the disintegrating forces at work in American Protestantism. Thinking people were questioning its claims. John Bapst believed that among educated Protestants of his generation there was a broad field for the Church's message. He was a big enough man to get the viewpoint of American Protestantism, else his influence in a stronghold of Protestantism never could have been so strong. Firm and uncomprising in principle, he was all gentleness and kindness, and while he remained in Boston he was a power with every element in the population. Needless to say he made a great many converts. His Boston apostolate was truly noteworthy.

As an administrator he succeeded in liquidating a big debt on the Jesuit church and college. Father Robert Fulton was associated with him in this task. He had a very keen business sense. The very practical policy he adopted of establishing a committee of business men to handle financial matters pertaining to the church and college shows he was ahead of his generation in financial administration. He did not suffer from the delusion that he was an expert in financial matters simply because his office called for the administration of the finances of a big church and a growing college. When he formed his financial committees he gave them ample scope. "You are practical men," he would say. "Here are my problems. I want you to discuss them. You know more about these matters than I do. After you have come to a conclusion I shall come back to your meeting and get your verdict." Then he acted on the advice given. The result was that the men who formed his committees were as much interested in relieving the financial strain on church and college as he was. They realized that they were neither figure-heads nor rubber stamps, with the result

that practical finance combined with Catholic zeal made a vast debt disappear in a remarkably short time. The Swiss priest who had been a relatively brief period in America could teach many Americans the lesson of real American efficiency.

Father Bapst left Boston to assume charge of the New York and Canada mission in the late summer of 1869. In 1873 he returned to his old Boston Church as pastor. He had charge of the diocesan conferences at this time, was engaged in giving retreats to the clergy and to religious, and continued his many works of zeal in the city that loved him so well. He became pastor of St. Joseph's church in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1877. At the end of three years he had built and paid for a parish school there. In 1879 he returned to Boston, but as his mind began to fail, he was immediately relieved from all duty. In 1881 he was sent to the Novitiate at West Park, New York. Two years later he went to the Frederick Novitiate. In November, 1887 he died at Mount Hope Retreat, Maryland. His remains rest in the Jesuit cemetery at Woodstock.

The life of John Bapst is its own encomium. When the history of the Church in America, and especially in New England, is written the part he played will stand out in bright and strong colors. He belonged to the generation of builders, and, whether in stone, or in hearts of Catholic loyalty, he built well and lastingly. Without a John Bapst, and such as he, in the early days of Catholicism in America, could we garner today the fruits of Catholic piety and devotion in the parishes and dioceses where he fought the battles of the pioneer?

He was exiled from his native land because he was a Jesuit. Yet his love for his native land never grew cold. He came to America, a new mission field, in obedience to orders. He did not ask for the missions, he had no special desire for the missions but in straight soldierly fashion he did not refuse the mission call. Before he knew the language of his adopted country he labored for the Indians and gave them the best that was in him. The State of Maine received the benefit of his administrations for many years. Ellsworth rewarded his labors by tarring and feathering the gentle priest. The cruel experience did not embitter him. He realized that the excesses of the bigot did not represent American sentiment. "Americans are fair, large-hearted, and when they know the truth they have no hesitancy

in professing it." This was a remarkable tribute from a man who had been outraged by blatant bigots boasting of their Americanism. He was the true American though not born on our shores. Large-hearted and kindly, big enough to get the viewpoint of others, uncompromising in principle, he preached Catholicism and he lived Catholicism in days when Catholicism was most misunderstood. New England and Boston knew him best. New England and Boston owe him most. Yet the whole Church in America owes him much. He was a thorough-going Jesuit priest who lived for others and forgot himself. The priesthood of twentieth century New England reap where he sowed.

KNOW NOTHINGISM IN ROCHESTER, NEW YORK.

By the Rev. Frederick J. Zwierlein, D. Sc., M. H.

Bigoted hostility to Catholicism caused Cardinal Newman to write July 14, 1850, that "he really does not think that there is any call just now for an Apology in behalf of the divine origin of the Catholic Church. She bears her unearthly character on her brow, as her enemies confess by imputing her miracles to Beelzebub. There is an instinctive feeling of curiosity, interest, anxiety, and awe, mingled together in various proportions, according to the tempers and opinion of individuals, when she makes her appearance in any neighborhood, rich or poor, in the person of her missioners or her religious communities. Do what they will, denounce her as they may, her enemies cannot quench this emotion in the breast of others, or in their own. It is their involuntary homage to the Notes of the Church; it is their spontaneous recognition of her royal descent and her imperial claim; it is a specific feeling which no other religion tends to excite. Judæism, Mohametanism, Anglicanism, Methodism, old religions and young, romantic and commonplace, have not this spell. The presence of the Church creates a discomposure and restlessness, or a thrill of exultation wherever she comes. Meetings are held, denunciations launched, calumnies spread abroad, and hearts beat secretly the while." This last phrase was especially true of those in the Anglican Church, who had identified themselves with the Oxford Movement of 1833, the first principle of which was "that the Church should have absolute power over her faith, worship and teaching." That meant the undoing of the power of the State, by which the Anglican Church, in its very constitution, had been held in bondage since the days of Henry VIII and Edward VI. This left no other legitimate issue than communion with the See of Rome,[2] and powerful minds such as Newman and "a hundred educated men"[3] of England were gradually forced by conviction and the logic of events into the bosom of the Catholic Church, while within the Anglican Establishment "opinions, which twenty years ago were not held by any but Catholics, or at most only in fragmentary portions by isolated persons, are now in the profession of thousands."[4]

Kindred religious circles were likewise affected in the United

States, and some, following the teachings of the Tractarians in England, entered the Catholic Church, sometimes even at the sacrifice of worldly prospects, while High Churchmen leavened the American Anglican Church with doctrines and practices that were only a mimicry of the Catholic Church in spite of themselves. Episcopal seminary students such as Edward Putnam, James A. McMaster, Clarence A. Walworth, the son of Chancellor Reuben Hyde Walworth of the State of New York, Augustine F. Hewit, Dwight Lyman, Francis A. Baker; Episcopal ministers such as J. R. Bayley, Edgar P. Wadhams, William Everett, Thomas S. Preston, Donald McLeod, and, finally, even the Right Reverend Levi Silliman Ives, an Episcopalian Bishop, in North Carolina, became converts to the Catholic Church besides many others. Under these circumstances, it was not surprising that the Reverend Henry W. Lee, Rector of St. Luke's church, Rochester, should deliver two discourses there on "The Papal Aggression," the second Sunday after Easter, May 4, 1851. They were published at the request of the Vestry, which was evidently Low Church as well as the rector, and in sympathy with his attack on the Romanizing Tractarians that left no room for High Churchmen.[5] These naturally felt sorely aggrieved, and an anonymous pamphlet appeared with "Remarks" upon the two discourses. They attempted to define the difference between High Church and Romanism.[6] Bishop Timon probably uncovered the fallacies of both publications, when he made "Papal Aggression" the subject of his sermon in St. Patrick's church at the evening service, December 3, 1851.[7] The matter had already been handled somewhat in the pulpit of St. Joseph's church by one of the distinguished converts, the Reverend Clarence A. Walworth, then a Redemptorist, when on the evening of November 13, 1851, he gave his reasons for becoming a Catholic.[8] This sermon called forth no rejoinder from Episcopalian circles, but it did provoke the announcement a week later "that on Sabbath evening next, in the First Presbyterian church of this city, at 7 o'clock, an *Irishman* will give his reasons for becoming a *Protestant.* He respectfully and cordially invites his fellow countrymen, especially Roman Catholics to be present."[9] Needless to say the invitation was not heeded. In fact, four years later Presbyterianism itself is reported in great danger by "A Lover of Old Ways," who attacked, with untiring zeal, the al-

leged Romanizing tendencies of St. Peter's Protestant church. He writes May 15, 1855:

"Among our genteel people, there has sprung up a Catholic epidemic, first by running individually to Rome through the forms of Episcopacy—nearly three-fourths of the apostates from Episcopacy having once been Non-Conformists. But now we are bringing Catholicism to lodge with us, while stoutly insisting that in so doing no one of the thirty-nine articles nor any article of the Westminster Confession is violated.

"In certain orthodox Protestant families in Rochester, there are oratories, in which there are to be found the usual shrines, images and pictures; and candles are burned when daily adoration is performed. As the heathen ornament themselves with emblems of idolatry, so genteel people among us wear the image of that instrument, with which the Romans tortured their slaves to death. In our places of worship, a dark religious light now enters through pictures of the 'Holy Ghost in the similitude of a dove,' the 'Holy Trinity' and crosses innumerable—disregarding the wholesome words of the decretal: 'It is not lawful to set up in the churches those images and pictures that are accustomed to be adored.' One of those common things that are placed in the passage ways and by the roadside to draw a prayer from passersby for the repose of some deceased friend has been set up in a meeting house, and our children are to be corrupted by associating with their early religious education the emblems of superstition. Men do not become pagans all at once. It is only little by little, here a little and there a little. Nor do those rushings to Rome like the company to be found there. But bent on superstition, they find no other open door, and so they make amends for the sacrifice, by spending the remnant of time before entering Rome in cursing the Pope. Thus, while the common people are associating together in secret society to restore the good old ways of our ancestors, genteel people are busy in dressing up Puritanism in the threadbare garments of superstition."[10]

This great champion of the nakedness of primitive Presbyterian worship cannot help striking up a note of triumph, "when Presbyterian ministers and Church papers have pronounced against such practices, and it is ascertained that permission will be given to a person, driven from his accustomed place of worship by Puseyism, to file charges with specifications against a church,

and when prospects are that the Presbytery, with which St. Peter's has voluntarily connected itself, will send a minister to occupy the vacant pulpit, with instruction to conduct worship according to the form laid down in our constitution."[11] There is no mistaking the appeal to authority, that is not Sacred Scripture, even if it is Protestant. X. Y. caricatures it forcibly: "The note of persecution is sounded, and ere long a minister may be clothed with power and sent to St. Peter's to bring back that erring church to the true Presbyterian order. The smoke of burning fagots begins to rise. Then the Lord's Prayer will no longer stain the walls, or the cross dishonor the marble that reminds you of affection and faith of parents, and child, and people."[12] More significant than all this is the ardent Presbyterian's endorsement of the anti-Catholic movement that organized the disgraceful Know Nothing Party.

The party had worthy forerunners in the City of Rochester. An advertisement in 1848 bears ample testimony to the fact, especially in the light of later developments:

"ROMANISM.

"A Lecture on the pretended infallibility of the Church of Rome, contrasted with the writings of the Fathers, and such passages of Scripture as the Popish Church claims for the rule and standard of her faith will be delivered on Wednesday Evening Oct. 14th, at 7.30 o'clock at Minerva Hall, by Rev. E. Leahey, a native of Ireland, and late a Monk of La Trappe, in France. The Lecturer will appear in his Monastic Dress and give a brief narrative of his life and interview with the late Pope of Rome.

"Also on Thursday Evening, at the same hour, the Rev. Dr. Giustiniani, formerly a Roman Catholic Priest, will deliver the Second Lecture—subject: 'The United States, being a Province of the Pope,' also on 'Nunneries.'

"Ladies and Gentlemen admitted at 12½ cts. each. The Monk will also Lecture on Friday Eve., Oct. 6th at the same place, to Gentlemen only.

"At the close of each Lecture, the Rev. Dr. Giustiniani's work, 'Intrigues of Jesuitism in the United States,' will be offered for sale.[13]"

"CONFESSION.

"The Rev. Messrs. Leahey and Dr. Giustiniani

"At Minerva Hall, on Friday Eve., October 6th, 1848.

"Popish Confession and Priestcraft Exposed.

"A Lecture on the unchristian treatment of Females, in the Confessional, by Popish Priests—and *De Peccatis Carnalibus Conjugum inter se*—will be delivered on this Friday Evening, October 6th, at 7½ o'clock in Minerva Hall, Rochester, by Rev. E. Leahey, a native of Ireland, formerly a Monk of La Trappe, in France, and late Pastor of the Albany Missionary Protestant Church—which Church was destroyed by fire—The Lecture will be illustrated by a sad catalogue of incontrovertible quotations from the Latin Theology of the Infallible Church of Rome, with the approbation of Bishop Hughes of New York, which catalogue, Mr. Leahey has, by public request, translated and published, with the original Latin on one side of the page, and English on the other, and will be offered for sale on the evening of his lecture. Price 25 cents each copy.

"Ladies and Youths are positively Prohibited from coming to this Lecture, as some awful disclosures will be made. Admittance 25 cents."[14]

There is no trace of any disturbance as the result of these lectures, though they must have sorely tried Catholic forbearance. The same was not the case three years later, when Leahey appeared in Rochester alone, and advertised two lectures. The first lecture on this occasion was the same as the second of his previous visitation, but now he "cordially invited any Roman Catholic Priest to be present at my lecture, and then it will be shown whether the reading of the standard Catholic Books published under the sanction of the Right Rev. Bishop among us is bearing false witness against them." He also announced in his advertisement that "the proceeds of the lecture will go to the propagation of the Gospel among Catholics." Again only men were admitted to this lecture, for which an admission price of twenty-five cents was also charged. The second lecture also treated "Auricular Confession according to Bishops Kenrick's and Hughes' Theology," with another topic added, namely "Popish Nunneries." Mr. Leahey promised to "show, at the close of his Lecture, that he made solemn vows as a Monk of La Trappe

—was subsequently released from his solemn Vow of Celibacy by the late Pope—was afterwards married to a young lady by Rev. Felix Barbelin, a Jesuit Priest at St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia—the said priest Barbelin conspired with Bishop Kenrick and Priest Mullen of New Orleans in the final separation of Mr. Leahey and his wife, which separation was obtained by SACERDOTAL PERJURY! In corroboration of the above statement, Mr. Leahey at the close of his Lecture will exhibit original Latin Documents from the Pope and Bishop Kenrick, signed by J. Swift, Esq., Mayor of Philadelphia."[15]

Not satisfied with all this in the advertisements of his lectures, Leahey had inserted a paid article in the Rochester *Daily Advertiser* with a citation from Bishop Kenrick's Moral Theology in regard to an abuse of marriage relations between man and wife.[16] The citation had no more justification in such a place than any crude passage from some medical book on a loathsome venereal disease. The world readily understands that professional necessity requires such works on diseases of the body, but it is slow now, and it was slower then honestly to recognize that professional necessity requires such works on diseases of the soul, that are the radical cause of such diseases of the body. When Protestants abolished the confessional despite the teaching of Scripture on the forgiveness of sin in the New Testament, they lost the most powerful means to solve the sex problem where it is undermining the fabric of human society. Leahey, however, was unscrupulous, and cunningly succeeded in checkmating any attempt to undermine his authority before the public by an attack on his character. He published, in the same issue of the Rochester *Daily Advertiser,* a letter, given him by a Reverend Doctor Berg of Philadelphia for Reverend Doctor Engles, Editor of the New York and Philadelphia *Presbyterian,* where Leahey had been denounced as an impostor:

"Philadelphia, March 1, 1849.

"Rev. and Dear Sir:

"The bearer of these lines is Rev. Mr. Leahey. He calls upon you at the suggestion of many of your most respectable friends in the Presbyterian Church, believing that he has reason to complain of injustice, which you have done him. In the matter of controversy between yourself and him, I have no wish to interfere, though I find my name introduced in a manner, which I

deem not altogether fair, in a note from Rev. Mr. Ramsay. The question is not whether you approved Mr. Leahy's lectures or not, but whether or not you have the right to brand him before the public as an *Impostor*—whether it is prudent to aim a blow at a man, who, however imprudent he may be, can attest his sincerity by the scars of wounds, received in the discharge of what he believes to be his duty, from hands of enemies of your Savior's and he would fain believe his Savior's cross. This is the point, my dear sir. You have done Mr. Leahey great injustice. Baptists have not only beaten and wounded his body, but they have repeatedly copied your article, and but for the good providence of God, it would, in more than one instance, have blasted his reputation. He is not an *Impostor*. He is an imprudent man in your judgment and in mine also, but I will feel more at liberty to denounce his indiscretion when I have attained to the measure of his courage. Do not let us smite with the fists of wickedness in our zeal for things prudent, lest we help the enemies of God and despise one whom God has honored, and whose labors and reproach he has blessed by the testimony of many to the conversion of souls." [17]

The publication of the letter worked like a charm. The *Democrat,* the "most bigoted organ of Whiggery," refused to insert in its columns an article from a *Protestant Paper* in relation to the character of that individual, when an Irishman communicated it and requested its publication.[18] Furthermore, Leahey was admitted into "the pulpit of one of our most respectable churches" in Rochester.[19] Here blind bigotry closed the eyes of the bulk of his hearers to the evidence furnished by "his coarse manners and language, his evident desire to make himself out a persecuted man, a martyr to a certain degree, a bravado which he manifested, his self-convincing irreconcilable statements" that proved him an impostor.[20] Still better evidence of the true character of the man was furnished by an enlightened and broad-minded Protestant gentleman, Mr. T. Hart Hyatt, the editor of the Rochester *Daily Advertiser,* in the following on Leahy's first lecture in Corinthian Hall:

"Having heard much said for and against the lecturer, and the influence of his lectures, we concluded to step in and hear for ourselves what he had to say, that we might the better judge whether he had been misrepresented, or whether he was justly

entitled to the censure he had received. We did so. After a pious invocation of Divine blessing in a brief prayer, the speaker commenced by alluding to the manner in which he had been treated by the Press in various places, boasted in a style of braggadocio and slang, much better becoming a stump political haranguer than a member of the clerical profession, of having compelled a prominent Whig editor in Albany to retract a libel uttered against him; and finally he came to the press of Rochester —and stated that one or two of the presses here, the *Advertiser* among the number, having copied from the New York *Presbyterian* an article reflecting on his character, he had *compelled its editor* to publish a rejoinder, which appeared in the *Advertiser* last evening.

"Now all this was a matter of surprise, and entirely news to us. Neither of the articles alluded to were seen or read by the responsible editor of this paper until they appeared in our columns. As they were both intended to appear in a sort of quasi-advertisement form, those in our business office, through whose hands they passed, as do all advertisements, did not deem it necessary to call our attention to them. Had this been done, we certainly should not have published the one we did yesterday in the form in which it appeared either for money or the threats of the 'Monk of La Trappe.' And we think it was in extreme bad taste, to say the least, for a man professing to preach the holy gospel, to make such a ridiculous display as he did of his braggadocio and cant about his efforts to cower the press.

"When we entered the lecture room, we were liberally disposed towards the lecturer, we certainly had no prejudice against him. And we could even have overlooked his silly display of himself about the press, and attributed it to want of taste or good sense, but for the ill-judged and indecent manner in which he treated the subjects that he subsequently pretented to discuss. Instead of pointing out what he deemed the errors or absurdities of the system which he was combating, in a candid and Christian-like manner, and with the bold indignation of a Paul or Luther, he seemed to gloat over the indecencies which he exhibited, and by lascivious innuendo and leering insinuation to distort the meaning of his text, so as to excite, if not pander to a prurient and vitiated taste. And this too before an audience largely composed of young men and lads.

"But the speaker undertook to excuse himself under the plea that, if there was anything obscene or indelicate, it was the fault of the books, and not of the speaker. But this, in our view, is a poor apology for the manner and occasions which he selects for such displays. If all the bad things, which he described, were actually practised by the Catholic priests, and he were sincerely desirous that they should see their errors, and that others, who are fit subjects to be enlightened and reformed on such points, should have the benefit of his knowledge and experience, he might, in our opinion, select a mode of laboring with such without irritating their prejudices, insulting their feelings, and offending public decency, or pursuing a course tending to corrupt public morals.

"The passages, which he read from books said to be issued under the approbation and direction of Bishop Hughes and under Catholic Bishops and divines as standard works of the Catholic faith and practice, bad as the speaker made them appear, would seem, when considered with candor and a just criticism, to be less defective and objectionable in sentiment and fundamental principle than in the blunt and indelicate language in which they were expressed These books, as their style plainly indicated, were written in the olden time, when the Fathers of the Church and their authors were in the habit of calling things by their right names, and were less scrupulous in their choice of words and expressions than popular writers are compelled to be in this polite age. And although many of these passages and expressions may have become obsolete and gone out of use, as we think they should, they are doubtless retained more out of reverence for the memory of their ancient authors and venerable associations than for any particular admiration for their intrinsic merits.

"And while we are by no means prepared to endorse either the sentiment or the language of such a system of theology, nevertheless, we do not think the best way to improve or reform it is to be found in making it the butt of ribald jests and unclean allusions before a public audience, composed largely of young unmarried men and youths.

"And besides a whole system, whether in religion or morals, should not be judged or condemned from a few detached sentences and on such *ex parte* hearing. If the Bible were to be judged of by a few isolated passages, which the infidel or

sceptic might select and distort to subserve his purposes, how easily might his jeers and ridicule cast a shade of unbelief and contempt over the whole in the minds of those who had not examined its fundamental principles, and were not familiar with its sublime truths. So also with the works of Shakespeare—works which, next to the Bible, are perhaps more universally read and admired than the production of any other author—yet how easy would it not be to select detached passages and isolated sentences and give them an interpretation and coloring that would stamp the whole, in the view of the mere novice, as works of immoral tendency and obscene teaching. Here we see the illiberality and danger of such an exhibition as that which marked the matter and manner of the lecturer at the Corinthian Hall last evening."[21]

If Mr. Hyatt had known his Martin Luther in the light of Martin Luther's own writings instead of the traditional lore current among Protestants he would have discovered that Leahey could not go to a better school to learn the arts of slander and vilification. Besides, the books of moral theology attacked by Leahey were not popular treatises, but professional works, in which it would have been absurd not to adopt "the habit of calling things by their right names," and so all the strictures made from this point of view against such books find no application in the case. However, in spite of these shortcomings, it is a most telling criticism of such methods of attack as were adopted by Leahey and his ilk, even if such men had been really honest in their work.

Leahey probably intended that the correspondence, which he published in the daily paper, should suggest and provoke an attack upon his person by those whom he so vilely outraged. If so, it was unfortunate that he succeeded at least in getting up a riot outside of Corinthian Hall, though he seems to have taken care to keep out of sight, and so escape bodily harm himself. The rioters pelted the Hall with coal, which happened to be lying in the rear of the Arcade. Some twenty window lights and a number of blinds were broken, and a constable was considerably bruised in the fight that ensued. A person, who had the misfortune to resemble Leahey closely in size and appearance, had his eyes blackened, his clothes torn, and two handkerchiefs and a book taken from him. He finally succeeded in convincing his assailants that he was not "Father Leahey," and so escaped with

his life and bones unbroken. The ringleader, William Cummerford, a baker by trade, and "formerly and recently from Canada," was arrested, but he and also two others arrested before him, Erastus Sherman and Joseph Auchambeau, were released under bail that was furnished at once.[22] Better counsels prevailed the night of the second lecture. Besides, the Common Council had together a sufficient force of police to intimidate any desire to resort to violence, though a large gathering followed Leahey in returning from Corinthian Hall after his lecture.[23] A step in the right direction was taken by a Catholic to instruct the public in the faith and practices of the Catholic Church that had been vilified and this notice was published:

"Religious Lecture.—By the desire of many of his Catholic and Protestant friends, Dr. D. R. Jourdan will deliver a Public Lecture at Corinthian Hall on Thursday evening, the 20th inst., at 7 o'clock, in which he proposes to rebut all the malicious imputations of Rev. Ex-Monk E. Leahey in his lecture against Confession, Confessional, Priesthood, and to vindicate the Moral Theological Books used in the Ecclesiastical Seminaries of the Roman Catholic Church.

"Dr. D. R. J. will also lecture on Matrimony and Celibacy of R. Catholic Clergy, on the Nunneries and other Monastic Institutions. Admission, 25 cents.

"Dr. D. R. J. in this Lecture will give an opportunity to all those who attended the Lectures of the ExMonk E. Leahey to come and hear these matters discussed in the spirit of Catholic principles, and expects to meet the liberal and unprejudiced public."[24]

If Dr. Jourdan failed by his efforts to remove all traces of the calumnies and slanders from the minds of the audience, the subsequent career of their author was well calculated to do this work wherever it could be done. At the very time that he was poisoning the mind of his hearers, trouble was brewing for Leahey in his own household at Marcellon, Columbia County, Wisconsin. His wife was giving her affections to another, and finally wrote him that she "wanted to go to California, because Mr. Manley was going." On the receipt of this letter Leahey wrote her from Norfolk, Va., March 20, 1852:

"Remember that you are a married woman, and have two little children and a respectable husband, who loves you as his

life, and will you do anything to bitter and poison and blast forever the happiness of one who has done so much for you? I told you in a letter I wrote you from Rochester, New York, to keep yourself free from all men, and let no man have it in his power to say one word against your character, which is as dear to me as the souls that God has given me. I have good confidence in God, my saviour, that you have kept yourself, as I have done since I left you, free from the wicked ways of this deceitful world. And if so, as I know you have, then you have no reason to complain if neighbors or relatives speak all manner of evil falsely against you, for they have done so against Christ and his saints."[25]

The admonition produced no abiding conversion, and Leahey, finally, brought Manley into court, where the latter was thrice acquitted of the crime charged. At the third acquittal Leahey drew a revolver and shot Manley dead; he also fired twice at Colonel Morton, Manley's lawyer. The first shot struck the law book under the Colonel's arm, the second passed along the Colonel's abdomen, ripping his clothes and tearing his skin. Before Leahey could shoot again the pistol was torn from his grasp. The murderer was arrested and placed in confinement, where he made the statement: "In a vision last night, God told me to kill five men in that court room. I have been prevented now, but the day will come when it will be done."[26] The trial for murder ended in April, 1853, with a verdict of guilty, and he was sentenced to imprisonment for life.[27]

Shortly after the commission of the crime, the Rochester *Daily Union* learned "on good authority, that the only connection he ever had with the Trappists was in the capacity of a servant, from which he was dismissed for bad conduct. He married a wife in Philadelphia, who left him to avoid licentiousness which he urged as a means of support. In New Orleans, serving as a waterman, he extorted money from persons he entrapped into intercourse with a sham wife. Supported in a Protestant college by some of his dupes, he was dismissed for immoralities. And these are but the outlines of his career of imposture and villainy. The countenance he has had is even stranger than the history and for a time successful impositions of Maria Monk."[28] Bad as he had been, God's grace brought him to do penance for his sins in prison. For eighteen months he pleaded to be re-admitted to

the communion of the Church he had so deeply disgraced. In sending his written recantation to the Bishop of Milwaukee, he declared his willingness to have it made public. When he was finally admitted to penance, January 20, 1856, by Reverend Mr. Dael, he again made an oral recantation before the assembled prisoners, begging pardon of God and man for his long continued falsehoods and calumnies.[29]. Leahey remained in prison till he was pardoned and released from confinement.[30]

Leahy's downfall no doubt also took away any lingering sting left by the outrageous attack that Henry Ward Beecher made upon Catholicism, likewise in Corinthian Hall, where he lectured before the Athenaeum, a literary association composed of a membership both Catholic and Protestant. The protest of a Catholic citizen appeared in the Rochester *Daily Advertiser,* December 4, 1851:

"The Rochester Athenaeum has so far shown itself worthy the support and confidence of the intelligent and liberal community, in which it has been instituted, and bids fair not only to be the means of furnishing choice mental enjoyment to our citizens, but of being a grand means of moral culture and intellectual advancement among our young men. Such being its avowed object, our citizens, without distinction, have lavished on it their patronage with a liberality worthy of their reputation. Crowded houses during the whole of the last courses of lectures evinced the abiding interest felt by all in its firm establishment and perpetuity. Never, until last Tuesday evening, has its Lecture Hall been disgraced by intolerant ribaldry or wholesale or indiscriminate denunciation. I refer to the lecture or harangue, to speak more properly, of Henry Ward Beecher. An audience composed of the best and most intelligent portion of our citizens, and numbering from fifteen hundred to two thousand people, of every variety of creed, faith, and opinion, were constrained to sit and listen for an hour and a half to a most violent and infuriated denunciation of the Catholic Religion, the constituted Authorities of our Country, and in fact, everything that did not square and measure to the iron bed of this modern Procrustes. He denounced our Legislature and Law Makers as corrupt and venal, cloaking all under the garb of patriotism and good citizenship! In his Scriptural allusions he was irreverent, in his sarcasm coarse, in his illustrations far-fetched, and in his argument in-

tolerant. The finest of his figures was a plagiarism from Macaulay, and the whole tenor of his discourse harsh, exciting, and vindictive, more suited to the brawling cabals of bar-room demagogues than the vocation of a meek and lowly follower of Him who proclaimed 'peace on earth and good-will toward men.' It must have been such an oration that caused his auditory on Thanksgiving Day to greet him in the pulpit with three rounds of applause—and that too within the walls of the sacred edifice in which he ministers!

"Now men professing different views, and holding different opinions from Mr. Beecher are not silently, and without reply, to be thus insulted and dragooned, even when the doughty assailant is ensconced behind the aegis of the Lecture Committee. What were the Catholic Religion, the venality of our Law Givers, and the hideous features of the Fugitive Slave Law to Henry Ward Beecher as a lecturer before the Young Men's Association? His audience were there to hear a discourse on some moral, literary, or scientific subject, and not an enforcement of his fanatical dogmas, peculiar doctrines, or conceited flippancies. We trust nothing of the kind will happen again. The committee should either know their men or exact from them a pledge to lecture, not abuse. If otherwise, there is but one alternative; let those hear them who desire to, and those. who do not, stay away. But it would be only fair, in the future, for the Committee to announce beforehand what we may expect, so that at least there may be no cause to complain, if we attend."

While it is true that the committee was in a difficult position to control tactless men such as Henry Ward Beecher, it must not be forgotten that the committee occasionally also engaged Catholic Lecturers such as Dr. O. A. Brownson and Bishop Timon.[31] Nevertheless, a partisan management was even manifest in the Athenaeum Reading Room, in the selection of papers, "which would lead one to suppose that, instead of being a public institution for the benefit and use of the public without regard to religious and political creed, it was intended for the diffusion of sentiments, most decidedly sectarian in religion and partisan in politics. Of the seven New York papers which grace its desks, *five* are of the most radical stripe, leaving but *two* to represent the conservative element of the Metropolis. Again upon the desk set apart for sheets of a religious nature, we find the

Independent, Genesee *Evangelist, Presbyterian,* the *Observer,* and William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator,* all virulent 'negrophobist,' and the organs of two or more religious sects; but nowhere in the room can we find the Boston *Pilot, Freeman's Journal* or Baltimore *Mirror,* journals quite as ably conducted as any I have mentioned and equally worthy of a place in the Athenaeum Reading Room. Now I submit that these facts are sufficient in warranting the assertion that, as almost in everything else in these lines, partisanship and bigotry have crept into the management of this institution."[32] This criticism was made in 1863, but it doubtless also applied in the years of the bigoted agitation that led to the formation of a professedly anti-Catholic political party.

It was not until 1854 that a Know Nothing society was organized in Rochester. The *Daily Union* first speaks of it on June 7 as "a small society here, with Dr. Strong at the head and the local editor of the *Democrat* at the tail," but two weeks later the same paper was informed, on 'perfectly reliable authority, that a large society of Know Nothings has been formed, under the personal leadership of S. W. Moore, W. F. Holmes, and G. B. Redfield." [33] Neither a Constitution nor a Ritual of the local society is available. Scisco in his *Political Nativism in New York State* considers the only oaths "which seem clearly authentic" those revised by the National Council of Know Nothings, November 15, 1854, at Cincinnati, although he admits that a set of oaths said to have been used in Virginia in 1854 may possibly be those actually used by the Order before the Cincinnati ritual." [34] The Virginia oaths were precisely those printed by the Rochester *Daily Union,* August 11, 1854, as a revelation of the character of the Know Nothing Society, which was, in fact, established in the city before the Cincinnati Revision took place. At all events, they do not misrepresent the Society in its hostility to Catholics, since the first degree oath in the Cincinnati ritual expressly bound Know Nothing members not to "vote or give your influence for any man for any office in the gift of the people, unless he be an American-born citizen, in favor of Americans ruling America, nor if he be a Roman Catholic." The second degree oath made them swear in addition "that, if it may be done legally, you will, when elected or appointed to any official station conferring on you the power to do so, remove all

foreigners, aliens, or Roman Catholics from office or place, and that you will in no case appoint such to any office or place in your gift." [35] The Virginia Ritual has a Judge Advocate admonish the newly received first degree members on the secrecy of the order in terms that should not be forgotten, if they are true.

"If you were placed before a legal tribunal, and there sworn to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, you could not for your lives, reveal the name of that band of brethren among whom your name now stands enrolled; and further than this, when you retire from this meeting, you will return to your families and friends as ignorant as when you came, as far as the name of this order is concerned. In common with ourselves, you 'Know Nothing,' and let it be your stern resolve through life to 'Know Nothing' that will at all conflict with the high and exalted duties you owe to your God, your country, and yourselves, so far as regards the preservation of American liberty, which can alone be secured to our selves and our children by the entire and absolute exclusion of all foreign influence in those matters which appertain to our Government policy."

The men thus addressed had already declared in a preliminary examination their "willingness to use all influence you possess in favor of native born American citizens for all offices of honor, trust, profit in the gift of the people; and to promise to vote for them to the exclusion of all aliens, foreigners, and Roman Catholics in particular, for all local, State, or Government offices." The oath of the second degree in this ritual makes it plain that the Know Nothing Order bound its members under oath either to vote for candidates chosen by itself, "provided such candidates shall have been educated in American institutions," or, when there were no Know Nothing candidates in the field, to "use all the influence I may possess to elect all candidates whom I may know to be opposed to all foreign influence, Popery, Jesuitism, and Catholicism, without any hesitation on my part whatever." The third degree men, who were subject to still another oath, were further informed by the Judge Advocate "that by a system of concerted action on the part of our brotherhood, we can bring about a series of practical results in our government policy that would in any other light be deemed wholly impracticable. Simply and alone, it is in vain to contend against the hydra-headed

monster of Jesuitism and Catholicism, but united in one common cause, determined to secure the liberties of our native land at all hazards, or perish in the attempt, we cannot fail of success. Our cause is a righteous one, the motives which actuate us are of no ordinary character, and we trust no brother among us will be found absent from his post in the hour of danger." No highly sounding phraseology can disguise the fact that the main object of Know Nothingism was the oppression of the Catholic citizen under the impudent pretext of safeguarding "the dearest rights and privileges . . . of republican freedom."[36] When the Order became a national political party, its avowed anti-Catholic policy was in direct contravention to the principle of religious freedom proclaimed by the Constitution of the United States, Art. VI., that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States," and reinforced by the amendment that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." If anything at all, religious liberty is and was amongst "the dearest rights and privileges of republican freedom" in the United States of America. Know Nothing hypocrisy was only equalled by the malicious purposes in its campaign of street preaching against Catholics, which was ruthlessly exposed by Archbishop Hughes in his pastoral to his people, December 15, 1853:

"It has been communicated to us that certain persons, claiming to be ministers of religion, have thought it proper to preach in the public streets in such manner as to excite against us the hatred of our fellow citizens who are not Catholics. The object of this communication is to request you to avoid all such preachings, and to leave the parties who approve them to the entire and perfect enjoyment of their choice.

"The Catholic Community of New York have merited well of their fellow citizens by their uniform moderation and respect for the laws of their country and the authority of its government. I fear that this system of street preaching is intended as a snare, and I hope no Catholics will allow themselves to be caught thereby. Let every man, who chooses to preach in the public streets, preach as long and as often as he will. But as for you, dear Brethren, shun the space in which his voice can be heard, lest, owing to human infirmity, a reasonable and just indignation

might tempt any one of you to exhibit symptoms of impatience or resentment, which would be the signal to your enemies, in consequence the laws of peace and good order might be violated.

"I do not wish you to understand, dearly beloved Brethren, that you should degrade yourselves one iota below the highest level of American citizenship. If there be, as has been insinuated, a conspiracy against the civil and religious rights which are secured to you by our Constitution and laws defeat the purpose of that conspiracy by your peaceful and entirely legal deportment in all the relations of life. But, on the other hand, if such a conspiracy should arise, *unrebuked by the public authorities,* to a point really menacing with destruction any portion of your property, whether your private dwellings, your churches, your hospitals, orphan asylums, or other Catholic institutions, then in case of an attack, let every man be prepared, in God's name, to stand by the laws of the country and the authorities of the city in defence of such rights and property. It is hardly to be supposed that such a contingency, under our free and equal laws, can possibly arise.

"Nevertheless, symptoms of so baneful a purpose are not by any means wanting. The consequence, in so populous and wealthy a city as New York, of a collision between parties, having for its basis or stimulant the spite of religious hatred, whether in the attack or the defence, would be inconceivably disastrous. You, dearly beloved brethren, will be careful to avoid even the appearance of offence in regard to measures that might lead to such a result. But, if in spite of your forbearance, it should come, then it will be lawful to prove yourself worthy of the citizenship, with which you are invested, by a noble defence of your own property, as the same is declared sacred by the laws of the country."[87]

The position taken by Archbishop Hughes was unassailable. He stood for peace, but not at the price of sacrificing the rights of religious and political liberty, guaranteed to the Catholic citizen as well as to the non-Catholic citizen by the Constitution. The civil authorities in New York City knew they could not, under the circumstances, let the conspiracy of the Protestant Know Nothing fanatics continue unrebuked, and so the Mayor, Jacob A. Westervelt, the very day after Archbishop Hughes' pastoral, issued the following proclamation:

"It is the duty, as I trust it will be the pleasure, of every good citizen to endeavor by all lawful means to preserve public peace. No man, governed by the proper respect for the welfare of our city and the just rights of all who regard the supremacy of the laws, will directly or indirectly sanction or encourage any act tending to the violation of public order.

"Recent occurrences seem to require a natural forbearance and the exercise of careful moderation on the part of our fellow citizens, and especially an absence from the unnecessary discussion in public thoroughfares of topics calculated to excite and arouse the passions or prejudice of any portion of our citizens.

"The accompanying law points out the duties of public officers, and it is to be hoped that the good sense of those whose motives are pure will enable them to adopt that spirit of Christian kindness, without which the worst passions may be engendered, and the most disastrous consequences ensue to the prosperity of the city. I request, therefore, that all good citizens will abstain from any assemblages, especially on the Sabbath, in the public streets, thoroughfares or other public places, the tendency of which is to create or tend to a breach of the public peace and that they will devote the day to those purposes for which it was originally set apart."[38]

While many Catholic churches, in various parts of the United States were attacked and even destroyed in riots engineered by mobs of Know Nothings and Orangemen, not a single Catholic church was touched in New York City in the face of the plainly declared manly preparedness to resist any such lawlessness with all necessary force. It was too much to expect that such a politic step for the common good would find a following by the Mayor of Rochester, Dr. Maltby Strong, himself a member of the Secret Order of Know Nothings. He prostituted the proper functions of the Mayor's Office in order to protect, as long as he felt he could do so, the "Angel Gabriel" in his visitation of Rochester.

This turbulent street preacher was really Saunders McSwich, born of Scotch parents on the Isle of Skye, but he dropped that name for the English name of Orr, his stepfather, an itinerant Baptist preacher, who changed this occupation for that of circus ringmaster at New Castle. The stepson became quite an acrobat, and finally eloped with the daughter of the proprietor of a

wine and spirit vault near Prince's Dock, Liverpool. He went to Wales to become a Methodist preacher at Llangffd, where he tried to arouse his simple Welsh congregation by blowing a tremendous tin horn in the pulpit. He is said to have "disappeared one night, leaving a few debts behind him, as tokens of his affections among his parishioners, and taking with him, by way of remembrance, the pewter tankard which had been employed in the church sacraments." Orr next turned up in Jamaica, whither he had worked his way as cook on board of a vessel, and there he again took up the work of the ministry, but this time as a Baptist. When he came to the United States, he passed through a number of professions before he settled down to the work for which there was a good market in the Know Nothing movement. A few years before this, he taught in a dancing school at McGrawsville, New York, after which he became a convert to Mormonism. Later he was by turns check taker at a circus and assistant in a menagerie, a temperance lecturer, a tin peddler, and editor of a Nativist paper in Philadelphia. But all this finally left him in New York with just money enough in his pocket to buy a brass trumpet, and embark in the "Angel Gabriel" line of business. The sketch of his life came avowedly from a former school fellow and playmate, and made the rounds of the press, appearing also in Rochester before the "Angel Gabriel" arrived towards the end of July, 1854.[39]

Mayor Strong ordered out the Union Grays, and they were on hand Friday evening, July 28, to put down, by force of arms, any opposition that might develop against the street preaching. That night as well as the following nights the "Angel Gabriel" railed in language unfit to be spoken, much less repeated in public, at Catholics, at Slavery, at the Fugitive Slave Law, etc., etc.[40] Sunday he rode through the streets, blowing his horn and selling his doggerel.[41] He charged the Celtic race with cowardice, but he did not hesitate to declare that, in case of attack, he would be backed by the police as well as by the *other* force that would be in readiness.[42] The Catholics, nevertheless, gave admirable proof of self-command, but resentment was felt, even in some non-Catholic circles, against the Mayor, "for the gratuitous and insulting act of ordering out a military company," without the least provocation. The Rochester *Daily Union,* fiercely denounced by the "Angel" in his eulogy of its bigoted contem-

porary, the *American,* boldly attacked the issue supposed to be involved in the matter by some, who failed to grasp the real character of such street preaching:

"Our institutions are based upon the theory of the Equal Political and Civil Rights of all good citizens. Hence some leap to the conclusion that 'Gabriel' must be protected in his public harangues; if he be not, the right of free discussion is prostrated. This *may* be so; but we doubt it.

"If under our institutions, A have the right of free speech, so has B the right to enjoy his religious or political opinions without being molested or publicly blackguarded and abused. The right of free speech does not include the right to assail with insult and opprobrious *language* every man I may chance to meet. This is the perversion of a right, which the civil magistrates should punish or prevent. If "Gabriel" observes the proprieties of discussion, he should be protected at all costs; but if he abuses the privileges accorded by our laws to all good men—whether citizens or not—he should be curbed and if necessary, he should be punished according to law. The character of the person involved should make no difference whatever in the assertion of the principle.

"This man enlisted some sympathy in his behalf by a pretended zeal for the Protestant religion. But a gentleman, who knows him personally, assures us that in private, when there is no *immediate* occasion for hypocrisy, *he makes no sort of pretence to piety; he manifests no zeal for religion or holiness of life.* His public harangues at once lose their quasi-religious character, and become the ebullitions of an unprincipled pretender, who seeks more notoriety by means of the excitement, which coarse assaults upon religious creeds, ceremonies and modes of worship are always calculated to produce. Indeed, we are frank to say that in our judgment any man who wantonly and publicly assails and holds up to ridicule the peculiarities of a respectable religious denomination should be put down by law. He thus just as clearly invades the rights of others as though he assailed them by brute force." [43]

Evidently the Mayor learned thus "to descriminate between the freedom of speech properly so-called and the base perversion of a right which our laws guaranteed to all." There is a report that he kindly provided a hack for the accommodation of the

"Angel" the day following the appearance of this notice, but he ordered the street preacher stopped in the course of his harangue, when "a brick bat was thrown by somebody at somebody else, hitting, though not seriously injuring, Policeman Squires." An accomplice of "Gabriel" was suspected of the act.[44] The next day Mayor Strong prohibited him from resuming his preaching.[45] While the "Angel" was waiting for the train at the depot, he gave vent to some impudent remarks that brought a crowd around him. When some one there *groaned,* the brave man became greatly frightened, and bawled out a number of times for some *true* American to protect him. Nobody even offered to molest him, and finally he departed, sounding his trumpet.[46] In the Spring of 1856, advices from British Guiana brought the news of the trial and conviction of the "Angel Gabriel" for sedition against the Crown, having excited anti-Creole and anti-Catholic riots the previous February. Sixteen of his dupes were also convicted of sedition, riot, robbery and plunder. Orr himself was sentenced to hard labor in prison for three years,[47] but in less than a year he died at Demerara of dysentery, at the age of thirty-five.[48]

The spirit of intolerance manifested towards Catholics in Know Nothing times was not confined to political agitation, but also made its way into circles of the otherwise refined Protestant ladies that controlled the management of the "Home for the Friendless." It was established in Rochester on East Avenue to give a temporary home to poor and friendless females that might be worthy and in need of such relief while out of work. The first few years it appeared as an institution of a public and general nature. Appeals for help were made to the public at large, although the contributions came almost exclusively from Protestants. Reports of its scope and of its doings were published in the papers, but not a single statement was made, indicating that sectarianism had anything to do with its management.[49] Catholics and Protestants shared in the benefits of the Home. Catholic girls were even helped to observe the rules of their Church in abstaining from flesh meat on Fridays by being served with fish when desired.[50] This broad spirit of liberality, however, gave way at the beginning of the summer of 1854. Although a minority strenuously dissented, the majority of the managers made it a rule of the Institution that "on no occasion and under

no circumstances shall the performance of the rites and ceremonies of the Romanish religion by one of its ministers be allowed in the Institution."[51] The rule was entered into the by-laws that "are suspended in every room in the Home appropriated to the inmates, and are read to the poor ignorant ones that cannot read them." The former matron, R. O. Judson, declared in language of "Ex-Monk" Leahey and of the "Angel Gabriel": "They are told for the first time that, though we welcome them, we do not welcome those that mislead and deceive them. Our Home has ever had *toleration* for all forms of the Christian religion. But God grant it may never tolerate 'that man of sin,' 'that mystery of iniquity,' 'that abomination that maketh desolate'."[52] Father Thomas McEvoy, who became painfully aware of the mentality, into which the management of the Home for the Friendless had hypnotized itself, described well the practical result of the new rule:

"They receive poor girls at the Home, and from that hour they have to abjure their religion, and deny that they have a Catholic conscience. During the past summer, while cholera was sweeping from among us its victims, when the rancorous spirit of religious despotism ought to subside, a poor Catholic girl at the Home of the Friendless, in the agony of death, her soul trembling on her lips, and the dark dew of approaching dissolution gathering thick on her brow, called for the priest. In that awful crisis, when even savage nature would be subdued into humane feelings, she was denied the last consolations of her religion and was forced thus to go before her Judge in Eternity, because she was in a Protestant Institution. Whether her conscience was right or not, is not the question at present. It should be respected, and her last dying request granted. She believed in the doctrine inculcated by St. James, ch. 5, 14-15 v.: 'Is any man sick among you? Let him bring in the priests of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick man: and the Lord shall raise him up, and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him'."[53]

The former Matron of the Home now claimed that "the poor Catholic girl, that died in the Home of the cholera, . . . did not call for the priest. She did not wish one. She had not sought the pardon of her sins at his hands for more than a year

previous to her sickness."[54] The categorical statement might be a little more credible, if a Protestant male champion, "Benedict XV," had not entered the lists in defence of the Home's policy of intolerance, his account shows, in spite of himself, how a poor Catholic girl had been led to apostasy from her faith under the proselytism of the Home for the Friendless, but did not dare to face death itself with this act burdening her soul. "One of the directors was applied to for aid by a young woman of Catholic parentage, who desired to be taken into the Home. The applicant was asked if her own church could not make some provision for her. She replied that she could get no help in that direction. She was then informed of the rule . . . She replied that she did not want to see the Priest—he took no interest in her welfare, and she did not wish him to visit her. She was finally received because she had nowhere else to look for aid. She was glad to read the Scriptures there, for keeping which from the common people, she censured the Priest, and *so long as she had her reason,* had no wish to see a Catholic Priest, having found a better Advocate, 'Jesus Christ the righteous,' the only Mediator."[55] Apparently the poor dying girl, in the last hour of repentance for her sin of apostasy, had asked for a priest, a sure sign in the judgment of the Protestant management that *she had lost her reason,* as the request did not square with its *infallible* understanding of a few passages of Scripture, although there were much plainer passages in the same Scripture to show how fallible it was. But even if there had been an outrage of conscience, which "Benedict XV" refused to admit, this champion of Protestant intolerance was quite ready to take up its defence:

"Have not Protestants a right to exclude from their own institutions all such rites and ceremonies as *they believe* to be *idolatrous,* even if they should be earnestly solicited by some one, 'when the dark dew of approaching dissolution was gathering thick on her brow,' to send for some one to burn incense to Mercury, or address an 'Ave Maria' to Venus, or place an *obolus* on her lips to pay Charon for a passage over the River Styx, lest she might be left in 'Limbo,' in the regions of Purgatory? Or does the Priest contend that Papist and Pagan, whose rights are in so many respects identical, shall alike be tolerated in the performance of that which is abominable to Protestants themselves, with the express purpose of shielding the unfortunate and

afflicted not only from destitution of temporal good, but from the spiritual ruin inflicted by that Beast of 'seven heads which are seven mountains'."

Divested of its Know Nothing, anti-Catholic rhetoric, there is nothing left to this defence but a naked principle of intolerance towards Catholic belief and practice, the tyranny of which a victim could only escape by removal from the precincts of the Home for the Friendless, even in the hour of death. This condition of affairs was not known to the public at large until October 25, 1854. Father Thomas McEvoy had been called to attend a sick Catholic girl at the Home the previous Sunday afternoon, but was not allowed to see her by the Matron, as it was a purely Protestant Institution. She gave him the printed report, in which he found the rule that explained the intolerant conduct of the management, publicly denounced by him a few days later.[56] His critics, the former Matron, R. C. Judson and "Benedict XV" met with able rejoinders by Messrs. Purcell and Sheeran, the former sticking strictly to the point at issue,[57] the latter attacking mainly the irrelevant abuse heaped upon Catholics to discredit their religion before the public.[58] As a result the tone of supreme confidence is absent from a letter of enquiry W. Lebois addressed to Isaac Butts, Esq., in favor of the management:

"Your readers *may* have been entertained several times recently by a most singular controversy respecting the principles upon which the Home for females is conducted.

"Allow me to enquire, sir, if an association of individuals have not the privilege of establishing a benevolent institution to meet the necessity of any *part* or *portion* of this community? Have they not the right to fix a limit to their efforts? Have they not a right to receive and exempt from its privileges just whom they please, without infringing upon the strict rules of courtesy or claims of benevolence? The most that ought reasonably be inferred by those outside of their pale should be to receive it as an admonition: 'go thou and do likewise.' What must we necessarily think of a person who will stand grumbling at the door after admission has been denied him? I know what conclusion others might come to, but I should certainly suspect that the intruder entertained mischievous designs. Is it dignified, polite or Christian to try to excite prejudice against a good action in others, or sympathy because it stopped short of our own door?

We have only to give a little scope to our vision to observe a great many things, though many of them may not bear the impress of novelty." [59]

The editor of the *Daily Union* was a Protestant, but not of the real Reformation type, even though he does not seem to have been aware of the fact. He really belonged to the non-Catholic Counter-Reformation, the so-called Enlightenment, which rebelled against the Reformation standards of faith, the creeds imposed through the influence of the Reformers by the authority of the State. The Reformation State thus lauded it over the conscience as well over the bodies of men. The management of the Home was operating precisely on the same principle. Naturally the reply of Mr. Butt's paper to the enquiry was unfavorable, precisely because it was based on a false definition of Reformation Protestantism, better illustrated in its original character by the management of the Home for the Friendless:

"Protestantism, as understood by the writer, is virtually but another name for *Toleration;* and the right of the exercise and *practice* of private judgment in matters of religion, asking permission of no one.

"That is a strange Home indeed, where the sick and dying inmates cannot enjoy the consolation of religion after their faith. A tavern or boarding house hardly pretends to the style of Home for its sojourners, and yet when did we ever hear that a Catholic priest in one of these was ever denied access to the child of the Church when in *extremis?* What one of the Ladies, composing the Board of Managers, having a domestic in dying circumstances, being a Catholic, would deny her this boon? Probably not one; and yet in their corporate character, they shut the door upon the priest and deprive the parting soul of those rites, upon which is laid the utmost stress by those who demand them.

" . . . Again is it liberal or even moral to hamper the terms of admission with such conditions as to greatly tempt many a poor wanderer to accept a *home* in violation of their religious convictions, and which, should sickness and death overtake them there, would be most harrowing? For a Catholic to accept such a condition would be as truly sin as for another girl to accept the refuge of a brothel, that or 'homeless' starvation being the alternative, their sin differing only in degree. The apology or the indication for this course mainly rests upon the assumption,

that it is a Protestant Institution. But this is an afterthought to sustain the position taken. Without doubt its original conception was the establishment of a *Charitable or Benevolent* Institution to aid the friendless poor . . .

"The argument of Paul in reference to meats to idols might be read to the managers with advantage, and with respect to Extreme Unction, the matter especially in controversy, they ought to say as he did, 'neither if we eat are we the better, neither if we eat not are we the worse,' and allow the supposed erring girl still to comply with the requisitions of her religious convictions, for in such a case Protestantism, Toleration and humanity might permit the error, be it one. And while a mistake upon the importance of such a rite cannot destroy a soul, the denial of its existence by Protestant ladies may be, and is such a breach upon the principle of Toleration as, in fact, to give sanction to that intolerance and spiritual despotism, which has so long been the reproach of Christendom, although no part of Protestant Christianity."[60]

Even though the Managers of the Home did not admit this erroneous view anent the true character of the original, unadulterated Protestant Christianity, to which they belonged if judged by their conduct, they could not escape the logic of the concluding paragraph of William Purcell's communication: "No person, of course, can question the right or propriety of any denomination, or number of denominations to establish and conduct such charities as they deem proper for the *exclusive* benefit of their own brethren. But, when the managers of an Institution, which bestows its charities alike upon all, adopt rules against the admission of the clergy of any particular denomination, they simply commit an act of intolerance, view it in what light you will."[61] Once they took Catholic girls into the Home, they could not exclude them from the priest's ministration in the hour of sickness and death without becoming guilty of the most odious tyranny over conscience.

Modern apologists might try to extenuate the guilt of the Managers of the Home for the Friendless by pointing out the illiberal treatment then accorded to Catholic inmates of public institutions, both penal and eleemosynary, although the State Constitution declared, Art. 1, Sec. 3: "The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimina-

tion or preference, shall forever be allowed in this State to all mankind." While two wrongs do not make a right, there is no doubt that the constitutional guarantee of liberty in religious profession and worship failed to influence the condition of affairs in both State and County institutions at Rochester. Bishop McQuaid had not yet entered upon the scene of action here to champion the cause of these unfortunates, and wring from the State, not without the help of others, the Freedom of Worship Bill. Meanwhile the pastor of St. Patrick's, the Reverend M. O'Brien, had tried, August 21, 1855, to obtain permission from the Board of Managers of the House of Refuge to teach the children of Catholic parents confined in the institution for reformation. Available data placed the number of Catholics at about two hundred in a total of about three hundred and eighty inmates. These Catholics were not only deprived of Catholic instruction, but also of all Catholic worship as long as they were in the institution. That meant a training in the neglect of their religious duties as Catholics, except their private prayers. The Managers were blind to the justice of Father O'Brien's request, and adopted the following resolutions, on the motion of Mr. Roggen:

"First, That the Managers have considered it their duty to provide such instruction for the boys committed to their care, as in their judgment will be best calculated to secure their permanent reformation.

"Second, That, in the discharge of this duty, they have provided for the boys efficient instruction in the practical duties of religion, the duties which they owe to their fellows, to their parents, to their country, and to God, without reference to the sectarian differences which prevail among Christians.

"Third, That they cannot admit the claim of any person not employed by the Managers to occupy the place of religious teacher to the boys. As to do this in one instance would be to furnish a good foundation for a similar claim in another, and thus, in the end, the duty of furnishing proper religious instruction to the boys would be transferred to other and irresponsible hands."[62]

The Managers refused to give up this position, so that Father O'Brien could do nothing more than write Bishop Timon, June 8, 1856: "I deem it my duty to inform you of my sad failure in my efforts to benefit the Catholic children in the House of Refuge. Judging from the data within my reach, that about half the chil-

007578
FAIRFIELD UNIVERSITY
FAIRFIELD, CONN.

dren there are Catholics, and assured that no moral amelioration of their condition could be attained except through the faith received in Baptism and nourished by a mother's milk, I made several attempts to aid, offering my services *gratis!* I send you the stern refusal. I was also informed that a Baptist minister had been employed and paid to teach all, but that he had pledged himself not to teach sectarianism, in other words, to teach them to be infidels, but to be sure that they cease to be Roman Catholics."[63] The word infidel is a little too strong, but there is no doubt but that such wayward youths, in the absence of any positive instruction, would cease to be Catholics and probably end as infidels. The following winter there was a vacancy of five on the Board of Managers which comprised of fifteen members. A number of the most respectable citizens petitioned the Governor that Catholics should not, as heretofore, be excluded from the board—names of Catholics, as respectable as any now in the Direction, were sent to the Governor, with a prayer that out of five at least some two or three Catholics would be named. The Governor, at first, returned an answer, which seemed almost a promise, that he would grant some right or some voice to the Catholics, but afterwards, overruled perhaps by the *party*, he appointed all Presbyterians!"[64] Several years later the same illiberal policy was still pursued in the Monroe County Almshouse in regard to the children confined there through poverty or crime.[65]

In these last two instances, the party in power was no longer the Know Nothing Party. The fact proves that Know Nothing agitation unfortunately survived longer in prejudiced and bigoted minds than the movement was tolerated as a separate political party. Such bigots resented the action of Catholics "in traducing *free America*—denouncing the Protestant religion and the charitable and reformatory institutions of the State, *because the Protestant Bible and Protestant teachers alone are allowed within them.*" Yet the justice of Catholic claims appeared at once if put into the simple question: Why should Catholic children be admitted into such State institutions, for which Catholics pay as well as Protestants, if their teachers and priests are excluded? The opponents of the Catholic claims talked, wrote, and acted as if the United States were a country where Protestantism was the established religion and Catholicism merely tolerated. They were

plainly told first in Buffalo and then in Rochester, "that Catholics are not merely tolerated, but that they have equal rights with Protestants—that this is neither a Protestant nor a Catholic country, but a country in which all religions are equally free—that Catholics never were strangers in America in its civilized form —that it was discovered by Catholics—that the oldest town in the United States was founded by Catholics—that the first example of religious toleration was given by Catholics—that the richest signer of the immortal document, 'The Declaration of Independence,' was a Catholic—that the Revolutionary Congress associated John Carroll, who became the first Catholic Bishop, with Benjamin Franklin and Judge Chase to aid the cause of American liberty—that Catholic France, Catholic Spain and Catholic Poland aided us in the glorious struggle for liberty! Why then blame Catholics when firmly, but still meekly and respectfully, they ask for natural rights, which are granted to them even in Protestant Prussia and Protestant England?"[66] This historical argument had been used before in Rochester by William Dunn, who wrote, September 28, 1854, when Know Nothingism was in its prime strength. His letter was printed in the Rochester *Daily Union,* October 5, 1854:

"Mr. Editor:—

"As one of the humbler class of citizens threatened to be proscribed, and seeing the manly independent tone which characterizes your journal for years back, permit me to offer a few remarks.

"There never was a time within the 'History' of the United States when there were more exaggerated rumors afloat . . . It is scarcely necessary for me to remark that the Democratic party and the Democratic press have always denounced and exposed every system opposed to what was laid down by the illustrious fathers, from Jefferson to Jackson, and from him to the present executive, while on the contrary, the Whig press, the Abolition press, the Know Nothing press are incessantly denouncing adopted citizens—they are insulted and taunted on account of their religion . . .

"The immortal Jefferson was the author of the Declaration of Independence which proclaimed liberty to all men as their 'inalienable right,' and it need hardly be said that the life and teach-

ing of that illustrious statesman has been the orthodox faith of the Democratic party. The Whig or Federal party, on the contrary, maintained very different grounds. They required that foreigners should be here fourteen years before they could enjoy the blessings of liberty—to vote for him who should rule them and legislate for them, or judge them and condemn them. At the celebrated convention held at the City of Hartford, Connecticut, January 4, 1814, among other resolutions adopted by the Federalists is the following:

"'6th. Resolved, That no person who shall hereafter be a naturalized citizen of the United States shall be eligible as a member of the Senate or House of Representatives of the U. S., nor be capable of holding office under the authority of the U. S.'

"Such was Federalism in 1814, such was Native Americanism in 1844, and such is Know Nothingism in 1854. They will call us very absurdly 'foreigners,' 'Irishmen,' 'Catholics.' To be an Irishman is to be a Catholic; to be a Catholic is to be all that is superstitious, designing and corrupt. They will tell us how incompatible the Catholic religion is with a republican form of government. They will repeat this old, worn out calumny a thousand times refuted. Every man who ever read history knows better . . .

"The colony of Maryland was the first of the American States in which religious toleration was established by law. Lord Baltimore, himself a Catholic, proclaimed that religious toleration should be the fundamental principle of the colonial social union. The assembly in 1649, composed of Roman Catholics, declared and ordained that no person professing the belief in Jesus Christ would be molested on account of his faith or denied the free exercise of his mode of worship. At the same time that Christians were persecuting their Protestant brethren in New England, Catholic Maryland was a sanctuary for the refugees of all denominations of Christians, where Protestants sought a refuge from Protestants. In 1666 Maryland passed the first law in the provinces for the naturalization of aliens. It is the height of folly for those Know Nothings to attempt to proscribe a man for his birthplace or his creed. Some of them have the hardihood to assert that General Washington was a Native American, etc. This is another egregious mistake. In his reply to the

Roman Catholics of the United States, on his retirement from public life, he says:

" 'And I presume that your fellow citizens will not forget the patriotic part you took in the accomplishment of their revolution and the establishment of their government, or the important assistance they received from a nation, in which the Roman Catholic Faith is professed.'

"In conclusion, Mr. Editor, permit me to say that this new organization appearing in our midst is not of modern date in this country. It comes from England, the nursery of oppression, but the sun of Democracy is fast shining upon it, and will inevitably cut it off, and hence it must go where it is now seeking darkness, choosing this, 'because it hates the light for its deeds are evil.' "[67]

All this had little influence upon the Know Nothings, as is evident from their Declaration of Principles in the Spring of 1855 and from their Platform in the Autumn of the same year. The former declared against "sectarian influence in our legislation or the administration of American laws," but the following clause clearly showed what was really intended; it proclaimed "hostility to the assumptions of the Pope, through the Bishops, Priests and Prelates of the Roman Catholic Church, here in a Republic sanctified by Protestant blood." Nor was any one deceived by the declaration for "thorough reform in the naturalization laws," or for "free and liberal institutions for all sects and classes with the Bible, God's Holy Word, as a universal text book."[68] The platform had a plank against "proscription of persons on account of religious opinions," but also this did not prevent an immediate declaration of "hostility to the assumptions of the papal power through the bishops, prelates, priests, or ministers of the Roman Catholic Church as anti-republican in principle and dangerous to the liberties of the people." These were to be further protected, as in the Declaration of Principles, by "thorough reform in the naturalization laws of the Federal Government," and by "free and reliable institutions for the education of all classes of the people, with the Bible as a text-book in our common schools." The hypocrisy of Know Nothingism in these things was equalled, if not surpassed, in the demand of the Platform for "the enactment of the laws for the protection of the purity of the ballot box by the state."[69]

Only in the previous year, Know Nothings had passed a resolution requiring every member of the Order to vote for candidates for charter and all other offices endorsed or nominated by the council of the ward or district, for which such officers are to be elected. Every person violating this resolution was to be expelled from the Order.[70] This naturally led to the creation of "the test," at which any Know Nothing was required, in his lodge, to reply with uplifted hand to such questions as might be put to him regarding his vote. The answers given under the test, if not satisfactory, were a suitable basis for a vote of expulsion.[71] There was certainly need of laws for the protection of the ballot box under such methods of constraint. Where lying hypocrisy was so patent, it is not surprising that the charge made against Daniel Ullman of New York, nominated as Governor on the Know Nothing ticket in the State campaign of 1854, should be widely accepted throughout the State. Ullman was said to be the child of German Jewish parents, of whom he was born in Calcutta. The tale also related that he spoke broken English as a school-boy in Jefferson County, and that he was accustomed to pose as a native of India when a student at Harvard. Ullman denied the story, and produced affidavits to show that he was a native of Delaware. Nevertheless, it did service all through the campaign, and his partisans were the Hindoos thereafter.[72] Although Ullman was not elected, his ticket polled 122,000 votes.[73]

At Rochester, the Know Knothing Mayor, Dr. Strong, also failed to obtain, in the Autumn of 1854, the coveted nomination as candidate for Congress.[74] This fact was hailed as a good sign, but expectations were sadly disappointed when he received a Know Kothing successor in the charter election of municipal officers, March 6, 1855. The vote for Mayor stood: Know Nothing, Hayden, 1,740; Whig, Andrews, 1,597; Democrat, Conkey, 1,467. Besides, Know Nothings were elected for the offices of City Treasurer, City Assessor, Justice of Peace, and Sealer of Weights and Measures. There was also a good Know Nothing representation voted into the various Boards of Supervisors, Aldermen and School Commissioners.[75] Although success thus crowned their efforts, their campaign in the city had been disgraced by the anarchy of mob violence.

A call had been circulated some days for a mass meeting at

the Court House of all opposed to secret political societies: "The undersigned citizens of Rochester and vicinity would beg leave to call a Public Meeting (the importance of which none can doubt) on Wednesday evening, February 28, to consider the demoralizing effects of secret political societies. When bad or deluded men combine by Oaths secretly, good men must unite and affirm openly, or lose their Liberties." The recognized State organ of the Know Nothings, the Albany *Register,* said significantly: "The Hindoos will take care of things out in Monroe."[77] In Rochester, Messrs. C. C. Messerve and John Greig of the East Side Lodge and Messrs. A. J. Parker, S. W. D. Moore and J. R. Thompson of the West Side Lodge were put on the Know Nothing Committee, charged with organizing the opposition of the Order against the advertised meeting.[78] They determined to stampede it, and orders went out to that effect, with detailed instructions how it was all to be done. There was no fear of any intervention by the Police Force, as the Police Justice himself was on the organizing committee, as Mayor Strong was a member of the Order, and so bound under oath to co-operate. In fact, the policemen, appointed by the Mayor and removable at his will, were mostly brother members of Dr. Strong.

According to plan, a Know Nothing meeting was organized on Wednesday evening, February 28, before those who had issued the call were able to do so. Henry Hunter was President, L. K. Faulkner, Vice-President; G. B. Brand, Secretary; A. J. Parker, F. B. Hines, W. D. Shuart, J. Y. Dennis and Noah Perrin were appointed a committee of five to report resolutions. When S. P. Allen saw the secret plan of action unfolding, he simply made the motion that those who signed the call for the meeting withdraw to organize a meeting of their own in the County Court Room. The step was apparently unexpected. Know Nothings made a rush to follow those who withdrew, but they were prevailed upon to remain until the meeting passed upon the resolutions the Committee was schedule to report. While awaiting this, James R. Thompson made a typical Know Nothing speech, "denouncing the Catholics and defending the Bible and the Common Schools, all of which he thought in danger from foreign influence." The report of the Committee on Resolutions, read by Mr. Shuart before these members of a secret, oath-bound Society in Rochester, is well worthy of the Father of Lies:

"*Resolved,* That the Secret Organization of the Jesuits against this and other countries is alike demoralizing and injurious to Republican Institutions.

"*Resolved,* That, when 'bad and deluded' politicians combine to avail themselves of the influence and power of deliberate organization against the liberties of this or any other country, good men ought to unite openly in opposing both.

"*Resolved,* That we, as members of a Republican Government, feel it our duty to oppose such a secret organization, having for its direct purpose the destruction of the principles of our Government, and we believe it our duty to advocate the principles and policy of our *Illustrious Washington.*"

The resolutions were unanimously adopted. All semblance of law and order ceased with the motions to adjourn. There were then hisses, groans and shrieks, for everybody and anybody thought worthy of denunciation of the infatuated Know Nothings. Their meeting was degraded into the rowdyism of a noisy mob, which soon did its best to break up the meeting of their opponents in the County Court Room. The place "was nearly filled with people, among whom we noticed many of our older and most respectable citizens." The officers elected there were John Haywood, President; Elias Pond, John T. Lacey and Adam Elder, Vice-Presidents; G. W. Rawson and F. S. Rew, Secretaries; S. P. Allen, C. Huson, Jr., G. S. Copeland and Dr. Long, Committee on Resolutions. While they were still unmolested, the members of this meeting had voted the set of resolutions reported by the Committee. Unlike the Know Nothing resolutions, they ring true in the text, with the exception of the bad use of the term "Jesuit":

"*Resolved,* That the Declaration of Independence forms one of the most sublime pages in History, commemorating a truth of prophecy, that in the fullness of time a nation should be born in a day.

"*Resolved,* That, all men are born equal and possess certain unalienable rights, it is insulting to their understanding to presume that they will alienate these rights for the sole benefit of the leaders of a secret political society and bestow upon them all offices of honor and profit; we trust rather that they will repudiate those who claim the changes of political preferment, and

bestow their suffrages upon those, and those only, who claim Justice under the sacred law of Equity.

"*Resolved,* That secret political societies, in which oaths are administered and held to be sacredly binding, are at war with the spirit of Republicanism, upon which our Government is founded; and that in the language of the immortal Washington, 'They are likely, in the course of time and of things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people and to usurp for themselves the reins of government.'

"*Resolved,* That we are in favor of a strict and upright administration of the naturalization laws, by which the admission, as citizens, of unworthy persons may be prevented; but we would welcome, in the appointed way and after a reasonable probation, all who are truly attached to our Constitution and form of Government, and who solemnly renounce allegiance to all other sovereignties and forms of government.

"*Resolved,* That sharing in the fears expressed by Washington that Secret Political Societies are the most dangerous foes to Republican Government, we will not knowingly support for office any man who is bound by oaths and obligations to such a society. We hold such men to be Jesuits and foes to the immutable laws of Justice and Equality.

"*Resolved,* That we acknowledge and avow allegiance to the Constitution of our Country, and hold it to be our duty, a duty from which we cannot and would not release ourselves, to transmit that Constitution and the free institutions, which rest upon it, unimpaired and inviolate to our children; and that for this purpose we rely upon Education and the general diffusion of intelligence rather than upon midnight meetings and oaths, and obligations which require the sacrifice of the essential attributes which constitute a Freeman."

Speeches were to follow the adoption of these resolutions. In fact, just as the mob began to invade the Court Room, the principal speaker of the evening, Senator A. B. Dickinson of Steuben County, was venting his indignation against the Know Nothings, who had seized possession of the hall to override a meeting in response to a call signed by 1,500 citizens, who would next seize possession of the churches, who, in a word, were doing more

to prostrate civil and religious liberty than any or all organizations that had gone before them. Here was the Know Nothing opportunity, for which the organizing committee had prepared its forces. The report of a witness tells what followed.

The members of the Order showed excellent drill; they enacted the scandalous and degrading parts assigned them respectively with the coolness of veteran soldiers on a forlorn hope. Not only young men, mere boys indeed, but men of grey heads, whose faces wore the marks which nothing short of a half century can enstamp, were there, bellowing themselves hoarse and taking a conspicuous part in the preconcerted program. Among these were men, who would have felt themselves deeply wronged, had anybody one short month ago told them that Know Nothingism would insidiously draw them into taking part in a mob organized in secret to break up a lawful and peaceable assemblage of their fellow citizens. There were men from the surrounding towns who had come in obedience to their oaths and the behest of their committee, to trample law and order under foot and enthrone anarchy, violence and confusion. There, among others, stood Jonathan Wood of Irondequoit, a man of respectable pretensions and a member of a Christian church, bawling out with stentorian voice and endeavoring to break down Senator Dickinson by insulting and reproachful remarks. He and others of like position, and like him the professed followers of the Son of Man, editors, lawyers, merchants and so on, seemed to remember only the "obligations" assumed in secret conclave, surrounded by midnight darkness, and to forget as well the "obligations" imposed by their Divine Master as those inseparable from the citizens of a country, where the sovereignty resides exclusively with people.

The chairman's efforts to get order were unavailing till Mr. Dickinson took his seat amid cries for Bloss. This gentleman immediately apologized for this outrage that disgraced the fair name of Rochester, and despite disapproving groans and hisses, comparative quiet was restored. However, as soon as Mr. Dickinson began to speak again, the Know Nothings in the rear broke out anew with vulgar and obscene expressions, unfit for publication. After they had filled the measure of iniquity, the mob gradually gave way, especially in face of the vigorous denunciation of the disturbers by Frederick Starr. He was followed by

John Greig, who had been reported by mistake as a member of the secret order, but disclaimed any connection with the Know Nothings. C. Huson, Jr., made the most telling point against Know Nothing agitation, in the concluding speech of the evening, by citing against their declared policy the Declaration of Independence:

"In that great Bill of impeachment against the King of Great Britain as drawn by Jefferson, no two wrongs of complaint were more promient than these: that he forced upon us the institution of domestic slavery, and that he had 'endeavored to prevent the population of these States—for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners.' This latter clause is now a part of the Declaration of Independence, and will stand for all time the recorded evidence of the opinions of our Revolutionary Fathers in respect to the immigration of people from other countries and population of these States. It was the object of the Fathers of the Republic to encourage immigration. The first attempt to retard it was made by the Alien Law under John Adams. We all know the result of that experiment. The next attempt was by resolutions to that effect by the Hartford Convention. Must we at this day go back for patterns of conduct to those schemes which are most infamous in the annals of our country?

"But the question is not whether we have had too much or too little immigration, or whether our naturalization laws are too easy or too stringent. The question under consideration to-night is whether, in a free government which should rest upon the combined wisdom of all the persons composing it, secret societies or cabals should be formed to operate upon the prejudices of classes and nationalities, and upon the consciences of sects. If our country is laboring under any political misfortune, come forward, proclaim it, prescribe the remedy, meet us with argument and reason, and skulk not into a midnight cabal to plot the destruction of character and to undermine our social fabric.

"We have but to look to the reputed members of this secret society to ascertain its objects and its aims. Are not its leaders composed of those ambitious men who have been thrown off from the old political organizations, and are seeking a new home and new political affiliations? Are not such men, merely for political purpose, ruthlessly exciting the honest prejudices of

large classes of the community? Such is the fact. And I pronounce such a society mischievous in the extreme. It is a great sore upon the body politic.

"We are commanded by God and instructed by experience to beware of deceivers. But what is this association of men but a series of deceptions from the beginning to the end? Every day we meet our fellow citizens, those who claim to be respectable and who enter into conversation with us on the assumed basis of old organizations and mutual opinions. They protest that they do not belong to the 'Order' with all the earnestness and sincerity of truth, when they stand before you branded with a strength of evidence strong enough to hang a man, were the accusation murder instead of Know Nothingism! They begin by trying to deceive their honest fellow citizens, and end by deceiving themselves and one another. Why, gentlemen, the air has not yet ceased to vibrate with imprecations recently sent forth by one part of the 'Order' against the other for deceiving them. Such is the natural offspring of a harlot parentage.

"I have thought much on the blessings and dignity of American citizenship. I am proud that I am an American citizen. It is my glory that we have here these political institutions, which are best adapted to develop our common humanity—to bring forth all the elements of civil, religious, physical and social progress. I could not be proud of my country for its isolation, but rather than it is a great shining light among the nations of the earth, inviting by its good government, social order and physical resources not only the admiration of the world, but a disposition to share in its blessings by the downtrodden of other countries and climes. And viewing American citizenship in this light, I must candidly say that I have been pained, inexpressibly pained to witness here to-night such a disgusting exhibition of bastard Americanism as has displayed itself on this occasion."

The meeting adjourned in good order, but it was no fault of the city authorities that it did so. The mob spent itself after anarchy had reigned supreme in a public meeting in the very centre of the city without any interference of mayor, police, justice or policemen in behalf of law and order. Several Know Nothing policemen were actually present at the meeting, in plain clothes, of course, passive witnesses of the triumph of the mob, of whose organization and purposes they were doubtless fully

advised beforehand. One of these policemen even threatened an Irishman with arrest for replying to a Know Nothing, who was speaking to create confusion. The Know Nothing mob, however, had full license to carry out the program of riotous proceedings unparalleled in the annals of the City of Rochester. The spectacle was hardly calculated to prove "Protestant piety and indispensable qualification for civil office," as the Know Nothings claimed or intimated in their fundamental principles.[79]

Although the Know Nothings carried the Charter election, March 6, 1855, they did not escape the well merited Grand Jury investigation of their methods. This established the startling fact that the Know Nothing organization considered itself above and independent of the judiciary established by law. Men, reputed to be good citizens and professors of religion, refused to answer questions put by the Grand Jury until compelled to do so by the Court. This was even the case with former Mayor Strong when asked some questions anent Know Nothingism, although he had taken several oaths to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. It took an intimation of legal penalties by Judge Welles before Dr. Strong could be made not to perjure himself by telling the truth, but this exposed him to "being denounced . . . as a traitor to his God" by the Know Nothing Order. However, Maltby Strong was not of the timber out of which martyrs are made.[80] Finally, despite all obstructions, the Grand Jury was able to present the results of its investigation to the Honorable Court of Oyer and Terminer of the County of Monroe.

"The Grand Jury of the county, having been especially charged by the Court to make enquiry as to all violations and infractions of the election laws of this State, have in the discharge of this duty, called before them a large number of citizens, and made diligent enquiry on that subject. They find by Sec. 5 of the General Election Law that, if any person shall, by bribery, menace or other corrupt means or device whatsoever, either directly or indirectly, attempt to influence any elector of this State in giving his vote or ballot, or deter him from giving them the same or disturb him in the free exercise of the right of suffrage at any election in this State, held pursuant to this chapter, and shall thereof be convicted, such person so offending shall be adjudged guilty of misdemeanor, and be fined or imprisoned according

to the discretion of the Court, before which such conviction shall be had; such fine in no case to exceed $500, nor such imprisonment one year.

"It appears from the testimony taken before us, that there are a number of societies or orders of men in this country, who have formed themselves into secret combinations for political action, and that these societies meet only in secret; that their members are admitted under oaths and obligations and pledged to inviolable secrecy; that they are induced to enter the society under a number of pretences and to take upon themselves oaths and binding obligations that they will vote for certain particular classes of their fellow citizens, or individual citizens; that they will cast their votes and use their elective franchise according to the behests and requirements of their order, or the officers thereof, under the rules of the order; that by their oaths and obligations they are bound to vote under the penalty of perjury, or being perjured and as being unworthy to be employed, countenanced, or supported in any business whatever, and as persons totally unworthy of the confidence of their fellow citizens, for under these penalties they are bound to vote for the persons designated by the order, without regard to their own individual choice or preference of candidates.

"That members of this society or order, having taken these oaths and obligations, are informed by the order or officers thereof that a refusal to vote for the candidates of the order will subject them to the charge of perjury and render them infamous and unworthy of the confidence of all good men. And thus they are directly influenced in giving their vote or ballot, or deterred from giving the same, and are deterred and hindered in the free exercise of the right of suffrage. And it further appears that members have been threatened that, if they did not vote according to the requisition of the order, that they should be deemed as perjured under those oaths and obligations, and should be subject to disgrace and infamy and as false and perjured, be expelled with dishonor.

"That societies or orders after the last general election called their members to account to them or their officers as to the manner in which they discharged the elective franchise and required them to declare upon oath for whom they cast their votes at the said election.

"The Grand Jury have been much embarrassed in their investigation by the refusal of witnesses to answer the questions put to them as to their proceedings in secret session on the ground that a disclosure of those facts would render them *infamous*, and in other cases the witnesses claimed protection on the ground that answers to the questions would *criminate* themselves.

"Having thus been deprived of the full disclosure of facts, no individual cases have been presented by us, and the jury beg, therefore, leave to make this general presentment against such oaths and combinations that are, in their opinion, a direct violation of the statute in relation to elections, as the law was designed to protect and guard every elector in a free and voluntary choice in casting his ballot, and to allow every citizen otherwise worthy, to be a proper subject of such suffrage. We believe from the testimony before us that such proceedings strike at the foundation of individual liberty of action and tend directly to destroy the great and cardinal principles of our institutions as founded by our forefathers; that our institutions can only continue to exist by the free and uncontrolled action of the citizens, and that all such restraints and obligations are destructive to an elective and free government. All of which has been duly adopted and is most respectfully submitted."

Fifteen of the twenty persons on the Grand Jury signed this report. The names are worthy of preservation for all times. They are, William C. Bloss, Foreman, Chauncey Allen, Caleb B. Corser, George W. Goodman, Ebenezer L. Gage, John Graham, Lewis Billings, Elias Garrison, Robert J. Fellows, David McKay, Thomas W. Walker, Roswell Lockwood, Jacob Garrison, Lyman Johnson, Butler Bardwell. The five others, Jared Coleman, David Starkey, W. I. Hanford, Mason Cole and Philip M. Simmons had reasons for their own to submit a dissenting report. It speaks for itself, especially in the light of the majority report:

"We, the members of the Grand Jury, beg leave to report that we have diligently and laboriously investigated for days into the doings and sayings of secret political organizations and their bearing upon the elective franchise; and also we have deliberately and candidly inquired if any person or persons, party or parties, had stifled or suppressed free speech and liberal discussion, and have not been able to substantiate the crime or violation of elec-

tion laws or the elective franchise upon any person or party. This we humbly beg leave to submit as a minority report."[81]

The Grand Jury investigation may have put some fear into the hearts of the Know Nothings. At all events, a lecture by Miss Carlson, advertised to show up nunneries, a couple of weeks later, turned out a fizzle, though it was to be delivered under the auspices of the *American*. Minerva Hall was all ready, and so was Miss Sabina, but there was no audience outside of a few little girls, and so there was no lecture.[82] However, Rochester Know Nothings recovered their courage with their success in the State elections of November, when they polled 147,200 votes.[83] In their celebration of the victory, November 19, 1855, they were unprincipled enough to burn *Roman* candles in the street parade at night, and also to listen to the bad English of a foreign speaker in the City Hall, where they concluded the demonstration.[84]. This speaker was an apostate Italian Dominican, Giacinto Achilli, who collected contributions for missionary purposes in Protestant churches the Sunday before the political celebration. In his case the irony of fate was also apparent. Protestants ought to have been on their guard, as this man had been revealed in his true colors by no less a person than John Henry Newman in his *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England Addressed to the Brothers of the Oratory in the Summer of* 1851. The future Cardinal, then a simple priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, made it his business to expose the past life of shame led by this Judas. To make the revelations all the more effective, Newman made Achilli speak in his own name:

"I have been a Catholic and an infidel; I have been a Roman priest and a hypocrite; I have been a profligate under a cowl. I am that Father Achilli, who as early as 1826, was deprived of my faculty to lecture for an offence which my superiors did their best to conceal; and who in 1827 had already earned the reputation of a scandalous friar. I am that Achilli, who in the diocese of Viterbo in February, 1831, robbed of her honor a young woman of eighteen; who in September, 1833, was found guilty of a second crime in the case of a person of twenty-eight; and who perpetrated a third in July, 1834, in the case of another aged twenty-four. I am he who afterwards was found guilty of sins, similar or worse, in other towns of the neighborhood. I am that son of St. Dominic who is known to have repeated the offence at

Capua, in 1834 and 1835; and at Naples again, in 1840, in the case of a child of fifteen. I am he who chose the sacristry of that church for one of these crimes and Good Friday for another. Look on me, ye mothers of England, a confessor against Popery, for you ne'er may look upon my like again. I am that veritable priest, who after all this, began to speak against not only the Catholic Faith, but the moral law and perverted others by my teaching. I am the Cavaliere Achilli, who then went to Corfu, made the wife of a tailor faithless to her husband, and lived publicly and travelled about with the wife of a chorus singer. I am that Professor in the Protestant College at Malta, who, with two others, was dismissed from my post for offences which the authorities cannot get themselves to describe. And so attend to me, so as I am, and you shall see what you shall see about the barbarity and profligacy of the Inquisitors of Rome." [85]

This confession of crime ought to have discredited his attacks upon the Catholic Church and its representatives, but his supporters knew the difficulty of producing all the evidence in support of the charges as well as the temper of an English jury, and so they had Achilli sue Dr. Newman for libel. The evidence was produced at enormous expense, as it was necessary to bring the victims of Achilli's lust to England to testify. Nevertheless the jury returned a manifestly unjust verdict in favor of Achilli against Newman. The London *Times,* therefore, declared the proceedings in the trial "indecorous in their nature, unsatisfactory in their result, and little calculated to increase the respect of the people for the administration of justice or the estimation by foreign nations of the English name and character. We consider that a great blow has been given to the administration of justice in this country, and that Roman Catholics will henceforth have only too good a reason for asserting that there is no justice for them in cases tending to arouse Protestant feelings of judges and juries."[86]

Although Newman lost the legal victory, he gained a moral one. Achilli's reputation or what was left of it, was blasted away by the evidence produced. According to Archbishop Bayley, "the force of public opinion obliged Achilli to leave England, and the only place to which he could turn his footsteps was the United States. He was received here by the No Surrender Party with open arms. Appleton, at that time was issuing his

Encyclopedia and published a column and a half about this great Italian Reformer who, if he had his deserts, would have been an imate of the State's prison. Unfortunately for him he came to live in New Jersey where Archbishop Bayley was then Bishop of Newark. New Jersey has a special dislike for rogues of all kinds, and Achilli was arrested. He managed, however, to get clear and ran away; since which time he has not been heard from."[87]

The source of Achilli's trouble was exactly what might be expected from his past record. In the summer of 1858, Achilli began to board with Justus Smith, the proprietor of a watercure establishment on Bergen Heights, bringing with him a son and a lady governess for the boy. The relations between this woman and her alleged employer caused Justus Smith to take the necessary legal steps to enforce the law in the case, as is evident from the following document:

"State of New Jersey, Hudson County, ss.:

"Before me, James O'Neil, one of the Justices of Peace in and for said county, personally appeared Justus Smith of the City of Hudson, in said county, who being duly sworn according to law, upon his oath complains that on or about the first day of December, 1859, and on divers other days within the period of six months next before said last mentioned day, at the City of Hudson, in the county of Hudson aforesaid, one Giacinto Achilli and one Mary Bogue did at the city aforesaid on the days and during the days aforesaid, each commit the crime of fornication in having sexual intercourse contrary to law, as deponent is informed and believes, and, therefore, he prays that said Giacinto Achilli and Mary Bogue may be apprehended and held to answer the said complaint, and dealt with as law and justice may require.

"Sworn and subscribed to before me, at the City of Hoboken, in said county, this twentieth day of December, 1859.

"Justus Smith.

James O'Neil, Justice of the Peace."[88]

When Achilli was put under arrest, he claimed that Mary Bogue was his wife, although not publicly proclaimed as such for private reasons. Bail of $100 was furnished, December 22, 1859, for his appearance at the Court of General Sessions, January 2, 1860. Achilli asserted that Smith's complaint was prompted by his failure to obtain $500 as hush money for con-

cealing the connection between the defendant and his wife.[89] Unfortunately for Achilli, the newspaper report of his troubles in New Jersey reached the wife and children who he had shipped the summer before from New York to Florence, Italy. His family there was in perfectly destitute circumstances, living on the alms of their countrymen, according to a letter sent from Florence to Newark.[90] Thus another apostate was finally discredited, but not before he had conciliated Protestant feeling, first in England and then in the United States.

About the same time that Achilli found such favor with the Know Nothings of Rochester, news reached the city that a Reverend Mr. Lord was touring the hills and vales of Steuben County, also lecturing against Catholicism. He received a warm welcome from all who had a holy horror of the Church in that region until he disappeared after having obtained a suit of clothes worth thirty dollars under false pretences. Nevertheless, he appeared in Corning a year later and addressed the Fremont Club there. One of his hearers, James Clark, an ardent Democrat and a prominent Catholic of Corning recognized the swindler and denounced him at once. The "Free Monsters," however, were indignant and compelled Mr. Clark to desist. Determined not to be foiled again, Mr. Clark procured a warrant and had the "shrieker" arrested in Tioga, Pennsylvania, whither he had followed him. The swindler confessed the crime, for which he settled by giving all he possessed. The occurrence led the *Rochester Daily Union* to exclaim: "When will our Freemont friends learn from experience? . . . Others of like stamp have imposed upon them, yet they are like graveyards, take in everything that comes along."[91]

They were not the only ones in that condition. This was amply proved by the career of Leon Roberts in Rochester, December, 1858. As he was of French extraction and spoke French, he first tried his luck with the Pastor of the French Church on Ely Street, to whom he introduced himself as a poor student for the Catholic ministry, forced to beg the means needed to pay for his education. He tried to disarm any suspicion of dishonesty by offering to deposit thirty dollars with the priest for safekeeping. The trick did not succeed. The priest tested his knowledge of Latin, in which he had claimed some proficiency, but the lesson proved too hard, though simple enough in itself, and Roberts left,

promising to call again. This he failed to do for a very good reason. He had met with success before in victimizing the Protestant clergy in Canada, where he was known to the rectors of Grimsby and St. Catherine's as Charles Cartier, pretended relative of Attorney General Cartier of Lower Canada.[92] He gave up "studying for the Catholic ministry," thinking it more profitable to represent himself as a convert to Protestantism whose father, a wealthy man, a flour inspector at Montreal, a "Romanist," had disinherited him. He now appealed for help to prepare himself for the Protestant ministry at Beloit College, Wisconsin. He could show the indorsement of the Reverend Doctor Duffield of Detroit, and he also obtained the endorsement of three prominent clergymen of Rochester, who recommended him to the public as worthy of support. He even received a list of names from one or more clergymen and every man on the list is said to have given him a dollar, moved no doubt by the favorable discussion of his case in the session of one of the Presbyterian churches as well as by the zeal and piety manifested by the convert. He took part in the morning meeting in the First Church, where his prayer was highly extolled and he labored zealously in the Sunday School of another church.

At Ayer's Hotel, however, where he had made his home, he took his four drams before breakfast and made propositions to young men less dissolute than himself which were unfit for publication in a decent newspaper of Rochester. The proprietors began to feel some distrust in regard to Mr. Leon Roberts' honesty, but the Reverend Mr. Ellenwood signed an order to have the board bill charged to himself. As soon as the convert business was about played out, Roberts disappeared, leaving an empty carpet bag in his room and an unpaid bill at the hotel office. The Reverend Mr. Ellenwood was much surprised to discover that the board amounted to seven dollars a week and not three and a half as he had been told by Roberts.[93] At Batavia, Roberts succeeded in obtaining a small contribution from the Reverend E. Kempshall with the help of the letters with which the confidence man had been furnished.[94] When information was obtained from Montreal, it was learned that there was an assistant flour inspector by the name of Leon Roberts there, but he was not the Leon Roberts who had operated in Rochester and elsewhere.[95] This Roberts was a tailor by trade who preferred

to live by fraud rather than by honest work. He had left Montreal after swindling a man there out of forty dollars.[96] This information was not of much comfort to his Protestant dupes, as the mere title of convert to Protestantism from the Catholic Church was sufficient to put them off their guard. Thus, even Chiniquy was heard at Geneseo, November 9, 1859, by a large audience "with much interest and effect. Himself a man of power, his cause is well calculated to enlist the sympathies and obtain the benefactions of all who love their species and who love the truth."[97] Honest praise of such a man is really a mystery of iniquity, unless an adequate explanation be furnished by the survival of the Know Nothing spirit outside of the field of politics.

In the City of Rochester, the Know Nothings had lost their hold on political power years before this. Their avowed object had been to gain possession of "all offices of honor, trust, or profit in the gift of the people." The tax budget, in their administration of the city, looked as though they were intent not so much on the honor and trust as on the profit. The issue, therefore, in the Charter Election, March 3, 1856, was taxation. The opponents of the Know Nothings determined not to divide their votes, as they had done before at the risk of a defeat at the polls. The Reform candidate for Mayor, Andrews, received 3,555 votes, and the Know Nothing candidate, Swan, only 1,365 votes, or 375 less than the Know Nothing vote for Mayor the previous year. This was the end of Know Nothing power in the municipal government of Rochester. It took several years more before the career of the Know Nothing Party was ended in State politics. The last Grand Council took place at Schenectady, August 28, 1860. Here Dr. Maltby Strong of Monroe was appointed on a committee empowered to call a session of the council at such future time as it may fix. The call was never issued.[99]

The review of the anti-Catholic political movement might best conclude with a notice of a lecture that L. Silliman Ives, LL. D., of New York (late Protestant Episcopal Bishop of North Carolina), upon an invitation from a large number of Catholic gentlemen, gave to an audience of 1,200 persons in Corinthian Hall, December 1, 1856. "The Sources of Protestant Prejudice against Catholicity" was the subject of the lecture. Dr. Ives arranged his matter under three heads, false tradition, superficial observation, and intentional misrepresentation.

False tradition was traced back mainly to the Protestant Reformation, when charges were advanced against the Catholic Church, under circumstances that made them necessarily incorrect and unreliable. These accusations had been handed down from age to age, until they had acquired universal credence amongst Protestants and so became the basis of wrong judgment. A two years' residence at Rome enabled Dr. Ives to illustrate Protestant prejudice arising from superficial observation.

The worst source of prejudice, however, was intentional misrepresentation, especially when Catholics and their institutions were maligned by writers who refused to correct or explain after the fact was brought to their notice. The London *Times* furnished a case to illustrate the point. A number of English travellers discovered a notice upon the door of a Catholic cathedral on the continent; they translated and published it in the *Times* as a notice for the sale of indulgences permitting the commission of certain sins. The statement was readily swallowed by Protestants, but a committee sent to examine the original notice on the cathedral door found it to be a simple advertisement for the sale of chairs that take the place of pews.

The Catholic audience had suffered much from these sources of prejudice during the agitation of the past years. They were therefore, in a position to appreciate the points made by Dr. Ives.

NOTES

1. Cardinal Newman, *Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans,* I, Preface, VII sq.; 2, Ibid. p. 1; 3, Ibid. p. 12; 4, Ibid. p. 9.

5. The Rev. Henry W. Lee, *The Papal Aggression,* Rochester. David Hoyt publisher, 1851. 6. Remarks upon "The Papal Aggression," etc., 2nd edition, with an Appendix; Rochester Press of Lee, Man & Co., *American* Office, 1851.

7. Rochester *Daily Advertiser,* December 3, 1851; 8, Ibid., November 13, 1851; 9, Ibid., November 20, 1851; 10, Ibid., May 15, 1855; Cf. correspondence Ibid., May 17, 22, 25; June 5, September 8, 15, 18; October 9, 10, 12, 13, 1855; January 10, 1856.

11. Rochester *Daily Union,* October 9, 1855; 12, Ibid., October 12, 1855; 13, Rochester *Daily Advertiser,* October 2, 1848; 14, Ibid., October 5, 1848; 15, Ibid., November 10, 1851; 16, Ibid.; 17, Ibid.

18. Rochester *Daily Union,* October 5, 9, 1852; 19, Ibid., September 13, October 9, 1852; 20, Ibid., September 13, 1852.

21. Rochester *Daily Advertiser,* November 11, 1851; 22, Ibid.; 23, Ibid.; 24, Ibid., November 20, 1851; 25, Ibid., September 20, 1852, from the *Milwaukee News.*

26. Rochester *Daily Union,* September 6, 1852; 27, Ibid., April 30, 1853; 28, Ibid., September 13, 1852.

29. New York *Freeman's Journal* in Rochester *Daily Union,* February 22, 1856; 30, Rochester *Union and Advertiser,* September 10, 1860; 31, Ibid., December 27, 1861; December 29, 1865; 32, Ibid., October 1, 1863.

33. Rochester *Daily Union,* June 21, 1854; 34, o. c. p. 135; 35, Ibid, pp. 135-136.

36. Abstract of the Oaths and Principles of the Mysterious Order of Know Nothings. From the Richmond *Enquirer.* Rochester *Daily Union,* August 11, 1854.

37. Rochester *Daily Union,* December 19, 1853; 38, Ibid., December 17, 1853.

39. New York *Sunday Courier,* Rochester *Daily Union,* July 15, 1854.

40. Rochester *Daily Union,* July 31, 1854; 41, Ibid., August 1, 1854; 42, Ibid., July 31, 1854; 43, Ibid.; 44, Ibid., August 1, 1854; 45, bid., August 2, 1854; 46, Ibid.; 47, bid., May 24, 1856.

48. Rochester *Union* and *Advertiser,* January 7, 1857.

49. Rochester *Daily Union,* November 1, 1854, Wm. Purcell to Isaac Butts, Esq.; 50, Ibid., October 27, 1854, R. O. Judson, former Matron of the Home; 51, Ibid., October 25, 1854, (Rev.) Thomas McEvoy; November 1, 1854; W. P., November 7, 1854; 52, Ibid., October 27, 1854; 53 Ibid., October 25, 1854; 54, Ibid., October 27, 1854; 55, Ibid., October 30, 1854; 56, Ibid., October 25, 1854; 57, Ibid., November 1, 1854; 58, Ibid., November 7, 1854; 59, Ibid., November 6, 1854; 60, Ibid., November 7, 1854; 61, Ibid., November 1, 1854.

62. Extract from the Minutes of the Managers, August 21, 1855.

63. Buffalo *Sentinel,* June 14, 1856; Rochester *Daily Union,* June 17, 1856.

64. Buffalo *Courier,* Rochester *Union* and *Advertiser,* June 23, 1857.

65. Rochester *Daily Union,* January 26, 1861; Rev. Daniel Moore.

66. Rochester *Union* and *Advertiser,* June 23, 1857.

67. Rochester *Daily Union,* October 5, 1854.

68. Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York State,* p. 143; 69, Ibid., p. 151; 70, Ibid., p. 120; 71, Ibid., p. 128; 72, Ibid., p. 123; 73, Ibid., p. 125.

74. Rochester *Daily Union, October* 10, 1854; 75, Ibid., March 7, 1855; 76, Ibid, March 1, 1855; 77, Ibid., March 2, 1855; 78, Ibid., February 28, 1855; 79, Ibid., March 1, 1855; 80, Ibid., May 3, 1855; 81, Ibid.; 82, Ibid., May 18, 1855.

83. Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York State,* p. 167.

84. Rochester *Daily Union,* November 20, 1855.

85. Wilfrid Ward, *Life of Cardinal Newman,* i. 279[1]; cf. passages preceding and following in Newman; *Present Position of Catholics in England,* etc., p. 207 sqq.; for authorities of Newman's charges cf. *Dublin Review,* July, 1850; 86, Wilfrid Ward, o. c. i. 292.

87. Rochester *Union* and *Advertiser,* February 11, 1874, lecture on "Religious Prejudices"; 88, Ibid., December 22, 1859.

89. *Courier* and *Advertiser,* December 22, 1859.

90. Rochester *Union* and *Advertiser,* April 18, 1860.

91. Rochester *Daily Union,* September 17, 1856.

92. Rochester *Union* and *Advertiser,* January 6, 1859, January 19, 1859; 93, Ibid., December 24, 1858; 94, Ibid., January 6, 1859; 95, Ibid.; 96, Ibid., January 19, 1859; 97, Ibid., November 11, 1859, letter from Geneseo, November 10, 1859.

98. Rochester *Daily Union,* March 4, 1856.

99. Scisco, *op. cit.* p. 239 sq.

THE MULLANPHYS OF ST. LOUIS

By The Rev. Laurence Kenny, S.J.

[Some years ago the Rev. Hugh B. MacMahon, S. J., delivered a lecture on the famous Mullanphy family of St. Louis, Missouri. In the preparation of the details he had the assistance of the Rev. Laurence J. Kenny, S. J. Father Kenny has revised this paper for the present volume of Records and Studies and has enriched it with the copious notes to be found therewith. He has also added to it a history of the "Mullanphy Fund for the Relief of Poor Emigrants and Travelers," bringing the record of that charity, now a sort of impracticable philanthropic curiosity, down to date.—Ed. Records and Studies.]

In the first number of the second volume of the *Shepherd of the Valley*,[1] a Catholic paper, published in St. Louis in September, 1833, occurs the following simple statement:

"Died—In this city, on the 29th ultimo, John Mullanphy, in the 64th year of his age. In his death the orphan and afflicted have lost a most liberal benefactor and literature a firm supporter." Such was the notice, brief, and inaccurate as regards his age, that announced the passing of the noblest Catholic St. Louis has known, than whom there was none of any creed or nationality more prominent in laying the foundation of this city.

For a quarter of a century more he had taken a prominent, nay, a foremost, part in all the affairs of Church and State that centered in St. Louis. Modest, not self-heralding, but rather, as true worth ever is, self-hiding though he was, still in political

[1]The *Shepherd of the Valley* was the first religious periodical of any denomination published in St. Louis, and probably in the Mississippi Valley. It was discontinued after a few years, during which the *Catholic Banner*, the *Catholic Cabinet*, and the *Catholic News-Letter* arose and fell from power to yield place in 1850 to the revived *Shepherd of the Valley*. It died again in 1854, and the *Catholic Leader*, the *Western Banner*, and the *Guardian* succeeded one another until the birth of the *Western Watchman* (1867) and the *Church Progress* (1878) that continue to be the advocates of the Catholic cause in "the city surrounded by the United States."

It was this second *Shepherd of the Valley* that is referred to by Archbishop Ryan in his characteristically humorous explanation as to why Dr. (Bishop) Horstmann came to originate the Catholic Historical Society. (See "Records of the Am. Cath. Hist. Soc.," Vol. III, p. 61. A speech delivered March 31, 1891.)

and commercial life he could not remain unknown, and play the part he did, but his noblest deeds, which form his glory now and shall forever, were mostly hidden—charity, dispensed often under the cloak of justice, payment for service or loan, often still distributed by the hand, or under the name of another, showed that he asked no notoriety, sought no monument to perpetuate his name, and though we have a Mullanphy street and asylum-hospital, these names were not of his seeking. He was in truth the

Active doer, noble liver,
Strong to labor, sure to conquer

of whom the poet sings, and so his many noble deeds lived on in the memory of those who knew him; and none who knew him well could fail to admire his qualities of mind and heart. John F. Darby,[2] a non-Catholic, who had been four times Mayor of St. Louis and later represented the city in Congress, thus writes of him in his "Recollections": "A worthy and a good man. In charitable deeds he never had a superior in the city of St. Louis, and his works will live after him as long as the Mississippi laves the shores of the city where the institutions founded by him in the cause of charity and religion shall stand; and so long as the seats of learning and structures dedicated shall have votaries who worship at the shrine of Him who 'came to save that which was lost' will the evidence of his noble charity be maintained and benefit mankind." And longer still we of the faith can add, for we know that the just and the merciful shall inherit the land and their memory be to everlasting.

Since such was the impression left on those who met him, it should prove of benefit to us to study for a brief hour the life of John Mullanphy. The story of that life, if fully told, would fill a volume with incidents that have all the charm of romance. We can but glance at it.

Born in Ireland in 1758, deprived of his mother at an early age, he spent his youth at the home of his uncle Bryan, without the educational advantages that wealth or apostasy could have given. At twenty he was with the Irish Brigade in France; then back again in Ireland when the throne he served went down in

[2]Darby's wife was a Catholic, as are his descendants today. He was always fair toward Catholics and Catholic views. His "Personal Recollections" is splendid history, though more vivid than accurate.

the red sea of revolution; married toward the end of 1789; forced by the penal laws, which closed every avenue of advancement to the loyal Catholic, he left his native land in 1792 and came with his young wife and babe to Philadelphia.[3] His place of business burned within a year; he turned to Baltimore and there remained till 1798. In this last mentioned year he started for the "farthest west" of those days, Kentucky; and finally migrated to St. Louis, arriving here late in 1804. Back and forth every year he went in pursuit of business between St. Louis and the "settlements," as Baltimore and Philadelphia were known; down the Mississippi to Natchez and New Orleans, over to Liverpool to lay the foundation of his fortune, but ever coming back to St. Louis as his home. Risking his life amid scenes of war and strife, passing through difficulties and dangers on land and sea, from Indian and pirate, traversing trackless forests, crossing storm-swollen streams, sharing in deeds that live in history, in search of wealth and home; and when that home was founded, taking an active, energetic part in the progress of the city and nation, but interested above all in the Church of his fathers. And so living the life of pioneer, merchant, shipper, showing himself the shrewd yet ever just man of business, the far-sighted, public-spirited citizen, but through all and above all, the dutiful son of Mother Church, he died at last wealthy, vastly so for his day, but without the shadow of taint on the money he had made, contributing in his will to the Church, building convents, founding hospitals, asylums, schools; mindful of the poor and needy of every age and condition; surely in the Catholic Hall of Fame there is a place reserved for this man—the generous Catholic man, John Mullanphy.

Such in briefest outline is the life we are going to follow, and as we pass from scene to scene of that life, and the man and his character grow upon us, we shall long for more details, and wish that his humility, his reticence had not hidden so much that it

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[3]He seems to have moved back and forth from Baltimore to Philadelphia; for we find in the baptismal records of St. Joseph's Philadelphia: "Mullanphy, Catherine, of John and Elizabeth; born December 2, 1796, bapt. December 11, by Rev. Leonard Neale; sponsors, John and Johanna Delaney."

On the other hand, a letter of Bishop Carroll, which he is sending to Ireland in Mullanphy's custody, and to which we shall refer again, is dated Baltimore, July 19, 1794. His home was in Baltimore at the date of the letter.

would benefit us to know. Within the sanctuary of home and to her who ruled therein, he doubtless spoke more freely of his youth and consulted her about his many deeds of charity, but she was one with him in spirit too much so to magnify his name, even when he had departed, by publishing to the world the good he had done in secret. In our desire to know more of the man we might even wish that the kodak fiend had been discovered years agone; for then we surely would have at least a snap-shot to preserve his outward form for us. I am aware that there is a "portrait" of him extant. To the left as you enter the hospital which bears his name you will find a life size painting of John Mullanphy, Benefactor of the Poor. But the date, you will notice, is 1874, and the artist Hastings;[4] and like many another of that artist's works, the picture is rather ideal—what he might have looked like rather than what he was. It was painted, I've been told, from Mr. Hastings' conception of Mullanphy formed by hearing some of those who had known him describe his personal appearance.

Brackenridge in his *Recollections of the West* would leave us under the impression that Mullanphy was somewhat coarse of feature, but Brackenridge[5] was, I fear, no fair judge in this matter. He is the only one of those who knew Mullanphy that has aught to say of him that is not all praise. Brackenridge, you see, was not a Catholic, and when looking up the future subject victims of his pen he called upon Mullanhpy; he was, of course, asked to share his hospitality. But alas! it was Friday; and the meager fare lay heavy on his conscience and colored somewhat his description of the host. (Just as the more meager fare

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[4]Matthew Hastings, born in Georgetown, D. C., December 31, 1834, came at the age of six to St. Louis, Mo., where he resided until his death a few months ago. After his classical studies at the St. Louis University, he devoted himself to portrait painting, which he studied during a two years' stay at Dusseldorf and Paris. He is said to have finished a painting every month for fifty years, most of these are the decorations of the Catholic churches of St. Louis; some of them are exquisite; all have so much truth and simplicity that they recall the medieval workmanship in many ways, as Hastings recalled the medieval workman.

[5]The cuckoo is said to deposit its eggs in the nest of other birds to be hatched, and the young, grown strong, attack the bird that fed them. This Brackenridge was abandoned by his father and reared delicately, and as a Catholic, by a pious French family of early Missouri. He returned to the associates of his father when grown up, and Catholic men and manners are usually treated with ridicule in his works.

which the Trappists furnished on his visit to their monastery caused him to draw a more distorted picture of them.)

However, from an o'er true tale that is told of him, many of us may be able to form for ourselves a picture of Mullanphy. When the hero of two continents, the Marquis de Lafayette, made his triumphal journey through the country in 1825, he visited St. Louis—eight years before Mullanphy's death. Amusing reading it forms—that visit—amusing but instructive withal. How the city fathers were flurried at the thought of the great man's coming, and wished "to do the city proud" on that occasion! But, honest, simple souls—how distant seems the time when such epithets as these can be applied to aldermen!—how different, too, from the more sophisticated city officials of the present!—they scrupled in very truth to use a dollar of the city's money for the entertainment of their guest, and did not think they had the power to make an appropriation for the purpose. How they tried, too, to shift the responsibility, and sent the Mayor to invite Governor Bates to take charge of the reception, hoping thus that the State would appropriate the sum they needed. On the Governor's refusal, they determined to fall back on the generous hospitality of individuals; agreeing, if it came to the worst, to take some of the public funds, pledging themselves to personally refund the amount in case any objections were raised. Oh, that public officials now had but a tithe of such conscientiousness; that councilmen, congressmen and others could learn a lesson from those simple days—not so far removed in point of time, but ages past when judged by the more advanced standard of present public morality[6a]. This point of the story does not affect us, but perhaps it may not be amiss to state that the total expense to the city amounted to $37, and we read not that the citizens ever demanded its return.

The reason of the story's introduction here is this: An influx of other nationalities, especially after the war of 1812, had changed the city's complexion and the French inhabitants no longer predominated in point of number, but it is safe to say that of the many who lined the street to catch a glimpse of the

[6a] Mullanphy's son, Bryan, when Mayor of St. Louis, almost rendered himself unpopular by following the old method of custody of the public funds. He opposed an appropriation from the city treasury for a reception of the Mexican War veterans, although he made the largest personal contribution for that purpose.

hero, none were more interested than those of French extraction. They knew Mullanphy well, but owing to his perfect command of the mother tongue most of them imagined that he had been born in France. When the carriage drawn by four white horses appeared, silence fell upon the noisy throng, and then a rousing cheer went up for Lafayette from all the crowd—the Creole part alone excepted. They looked at each other in a puzzled way, and then with characteristic shrugs exclaimed: "Lafayette? why, that is only Monsieur Mullanphie!" So take off the cocked hat and the epaulets from our Revolutionary hero, and give him a body five feet ten, or so, in height and stout of build, place him on a grey horse and we shall have a good picture of our present hero as he is remembered by the very few surviving still who saw him ride about the streets, or rather roads, of old St. Louis. Form the picture they who will! we need it not. We base his life, his deeds, and in them we will find the man himself.

As in the case of many another son of Erin, in the days when penal laws made the keeping of baptismal registers well-nigh impossible, there seems some doubt as to the exact year of his birth. The date assigned above (1758) is doubtless the true one, as it is given by his daughter, Jane (Mrs. Charles Chambers), in some biographical notes she wrote for the family; as also by his grandson, Bryan Clemens, in the sketch he contributed to the *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis.*

Born, then, near Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, Ireland, 1758, he lost his mother when a mere lad, and when his father married again, John went to live with his uncle, Bryan Mullanphy. His home was in that most picturesque and romantic, as well as hallowed, spot of the Isle of Saints; and the scenes and surroundings of his tender years must have had much to do with the moulding of his character, with bringing out his qualities of mind and heart. Much of his early education must have come without the aid of books; book-education, if I may use the term, was difficult of attainment then, if not impossible, for an Irish Catholic. That his natural gifts were of a higher order is proved in his after life. He had an innate sense of refinement, the "savoir faire" of his race, which enabled him to mingle, as a peer, with the nobles of France, and with the best educated men of our own country. All admit that he had a marvellous

knowledge of men and of the world, and was a keen observer of life, and in his later years he was an insatiate reader of the best books in French and English, and died possessed of one of the finest private libraries of the country.

The development of these finer traits must be attributed, in great part, to his surroundings, and to the same was due still more the hold religion had upon his heart, that made him first and foremost a practical Catholic. His birthplace was redolent of sanctity. Not all the persecutions, prisons, confiscations, or the annoyances of the later penal laws, ever drove the faith from those who dwelt in that lovely vale, hallowed as it was by the many journeyings to and fro of Ireland's great Apostle, and by the holy lives of the thousands, aye tens of thousands, of saints who prayed and labored for God, and were laid to rest on the islands and shores of Erne's fair waters.

Enniskillen means the Island of Cells—not indeed the prison cells of England—afterward erected there, but the cells of monks and nuns whose monasteries once crowned the hills or covered most of the 100 "isles that gem the bosom of Lough Erne."

Lovers of nature, those old monks must have been, as well as lovers of nature's God, to choose such a place as this for their cloister homes. All travelers from other lands who have visited the lake are loud in praise of it. "It is impossible," say the Halls, husband and wife, in their book, "to exaggerate in describing the surpassing loveliness of the whole locality. Nothing in Great Britain, perhaps nothing in Europe, can excel in beauty the entire road that leads to Enniskillen along the banks of Upper Lough Erne." And Mr. Inglis writes "Lough Erne, taking it all in all, is the most beautiful lake in the three kingdoms." And it is generally admitted that but for the majestic mountains of its upper shore, Lake Leman's self could not contend in beauty with this little-visited lake in old Fermanagh. The lower lake, merely an expanded River Erne for eight or nine miles, has 90 islets, and then becomes a river again, "a wondrous maze of waters" winding in and out, and back upon itself, among the hills until it divides to surround Enniskillen and then enters the larger lake. This Lake Erne proper—"the Windermere of Ireland"—stretches for twenty miles, from two to five miles wide. Its northern shore is undulating, but its southern presents a bold, jagged outline. It holds 109 isles in

its embrace—some mere dots of green on its blue bosom, others 10 to 100 acres in extent, and one, the largest, containing 1,300 acres. Below this island, Boa, the lake again becomes the River Erne, and then by a succession of falls and rapids hurls itself over the far famed "Salmon Leap" into the bay.

Along this bit of earthly paradise young Mullanphy wandered in boyhood's happy hours; and small wonder if the scene for "heaven lay about him" not "in his infancy" alone, but "round the growing boy" as well—awoke the poet that slumbers in the heart of every unspoiled boy, so that despite the lack of bookish lore, through life he ever showed appreciation of the beauties both of nature and of art. Books, after all, are only one means of education, and the lack of these he afterward supplied. During his short stay in Dublin he went into the service of an invalid that he might have the benefit of the scholarly old gentleman's tuition and the use of the volumes in a bookseller's shop over which he lived.

But we must not forget the real charm of his native vale, which had, more than aught else, to do with forming his character; the ruining of the early monastic shrines, abbeys, and round towers, mute ivy-saddened monuments of Ireland's glorious past, reminding him of the days when Erin was indeed the Isle of Saints, and Ireland's shrines foci of faith, literature, civilization to most of Europe. From a religious point of view, the most interesting of the charming spots around Enniskillen is Devenish Isle, just two miles from the town. It contains 70 acres and on it are the ruins of an abbey church and priory and the very best preserved of all the round towers of Ireland. The religious community on the island was established by St. Lasarian, or Molaise, who died in 563 or 570. The monastery he founded flourished, and though several times pillaged by the Danes was always rebuilt and endured until utter destruction came upon it from British hands.

When St. Patrick, on one of his many journeys once passed this way, he called to his companions: "See those angels there," and they beheld angels like an immense cloud condensing slowly over Devenish. Closer and closer they thronged till none could tell what myriads rested there. Then said the saint: "Equal to these in number shall be the holy men who, in years to come, shall dwell in Devenish or go out from its walls to spread the

kingdom." As I shall hope to show later, it was through a Mullanphy's aid that the debt the world owes the sainted heroes of Ireland was at length made known. It may be of interest to note in passing that there is a Saint Mullanphy (Maelanphaid), who, strange to say, is the patron of the little island of Molona, two miles from Youghal, and it was in Youghal that John Mullanphy met the maid who was to rule his heart and home.

To return to Devenish: The pious people of the neighborhood still love to lay their departed dear ones in the holy isle, as it is called, even to this day.

Passing his youth where he breathed this air of piety and with these memorials of the glorious past daily in view was it strange that when he had outgrown boyhood's days and dreams he turned his eyes to where a ray of light shone for the noble-hearted sons of Erin in France's sunny plane, and joined the Irish Brigade. There, at the age of twenty, he found for some years congenial companions and employ.

But, alas! that ray of hope which gleamed in France was quenched in blood. The *Sans-Culotte* made an attack on the Brigade and soon after it was dispersed. Mullanphy returned to his native land. There he met and wooed Miss Elizabeth Browne[6] of Youghal, just turned sweet sixteen. Thus began another period of his varied life. The red tide of revolution had swept over France and left but wreckage in its path; in Ireland penal laws precluded every hope of a career at home, and so he turned his face to the great new world of the West. Philadelphia and Baltimore held out best hopes for Catholics, and thus we find him with his young wife and babe sailing for Philadelphia in 1792. Fire consumed his place of business within a year and from the City of Brotherly Love he went to Baltimore, where he began his friendship with Archbishop Carroll.[7]

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[6]Beside the painting of John Mullanphy in the halls of the Missouri Historical Society there hangs a companion piece, Elizabeth (Browne) Mullanphy. Whether it was the art of the painter or the witchery of his subject, it is certain that there is no other face in the large gallery that greets the visitor with so sparkling a welcome. The artist was a master of color mingling; photographs of the painting fail to bring out its charm.

[7]In the *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. XIV, p. 17 (January, 1897), we find a letter of Bishop Carroll to Archbishop Troy of Dublin, that treats more of Mullanphy than any other subject. The letter rather vouches that Mullanphy will express the American bishop's mind, not only on matters of State but those of Church as well. Carroll says: "I would not break in again so soon upon your more important occupations

Five years of happiness and prosperity ensued, but Baltimore even then must have been too slow for one of his energetic disposition and in 1799 he turned to the land of promise, the then farthest West.

The trip to Kentucky in the closing decade of the eighteenth century was not the pleasure jaunt it is in the opening years of the twentieth. A stout heart it must have taken, and, doubtless, trust in God, to expose not only his own life but his loved ones to the myriad dangers of unknown forest and stream and mountain. Leaving wife and children at Danville, he went on to Frankfort to prepare for them, and in a few months' time returned to bring them to the comfortable home he had procured and furnished. Wife and children and home—these seem his guiding light henceforward; for the establishment of it he labored: to their happiness all tended. With home on earth in view and God above, and God's law and love in his heart, he entered on a career that proved him the business man of push and energy unflagging, the broad-minded citizen, but through all and above all, the just man, the charitable Catholic—lover of his kind, helper and uplifter of the poor, father and consoler of the orphan and afflicted—the philanthropist, if we could use the word in its true meaning, and not as it has been misapplied.

His business capacity, his gift of management, began at once to assert itself at Frankfort. He built a brick house and store, and laid the first pavement in the town. So, doubtless, too, he was foremost among those of St. Louis who roused the ire of the older inhabitants because, to quote their words, "they put rocks in the streets to break our carts' wooden wheels." In Frankfort Mullanphy soon gained a reputation for uprightness and ability, the corner stones to all true success in business, and

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were it not for the present occasion of writing by a very deserving and intelligent member of this congregation, returning to his own country. Mr. Mullanphy is the person, who, during his residence here, has conducted himself much to his credit, and, I hope, to his temporal advantage. Regular in the discharge of his religious duties he has commended himself to general approbation. (Carroll regrets that he has not transcribed the acts of his synod to send by Mullanphy, but goes on.) He has discernment and information fully sufficient to make known to your Grace whatever you may desire to hear concerning the ecclesiastical and political state of this country. . . . If any respectable clergyman can be spared for America, no more favorable opportunity can be found than of coming with Mr. Mullanphy on his return hither" (July 19, 1794).

so he prospered. Every year on horseback, taking only his saddlebags, he started on his journey across the Kentucky hills to Baltimore and Philadelphia and returned with wagon loads of goods for his store. Books, we are told, were always among the articles he purchased. In 1802 or 1803, he built a schooner for the West Indies trade; and under Capt. Watson of Philadelphia she made several successful trips, but was finally lost in a gale. All this, be it remembered, while the mouth of the Mississippi was still in the hands of a foreign power.

In Frankfort, Mullanphy's house served as the church, and here we come upon a lost chapter of history. Ben J. Webb, in his accurate historical work entitled *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky,"* regrets that he had no knowledge of the beginning of our faith in Frankfort. "We know not," he says, "who first said Mass there; perhaps it was the saintly Father Badin himself." We can now supply the omission. There were indeed few Catholics in those early days, and the priests were truly "angel visits few and far between." "But," we quote from Mrs. Chambers' notes once more, "when the early Kentucky missionary, Rev. Theodore Badin, came on his yearly or half yearly visit, it was at Mullanphy's house he stayed; and the other scattered Catholics gathered there to assist at the holy sacrifice and attend to their religious duties." She who furnished this item was born in Frankfort and baptized there by the celebrated convert, Father Thayer of Boston.

Long after he left Frankfort, the memory of Mullanphy remained and he was spoken of as a man of wonderful enterprise and sagacity. How long he might have lived in that Kentucky burg no man can tell had it not been for the arrival there early in 1804 of Charles Gratiot.[8] No doubt it was a great pleasure to Gratiot to meet with one who talked French perfectly; and a life-long friendship followed. It was he who invited Mullanphy to leave Frankfort and come to St. Louis—a "rising town on the banks of the Mississippi." His arrival here is, of course, chronicled by all who write of our city's early days, and dates

[8]Gratiot was one of the first non-Catholics who came to live among the French settlements about St. Louis. He and his descendants have been held in the highest honor not only by individuals but by the city and the nation. It appears, however, from the investigations of Houck (*History of Missouri,* Vol. II, p. 34, note) that he betrayed his fellow citizens of Illinois and the American cause during the war of the American Revolution.

varying from 1804 to 1819 are assigned to it. There seems, however, no doubt now but that 1804 is the correct year. It was long thought that the earliest official record of his residence was a deed of sale quoted by Billon. It may be of interest to show the changing values of real estate:

"Jos. Faillon to Manuel Liza, 60 arpents, etc., for $50; July 11th, 1799.

"M. Liza to Francis Chatellon, same, with house, etc., $200; Sept. 6th, 1799.

"F. Chatellon to P. Martin Ladouceur, same, $250; June 16th, 1802.

"P. Martin Ladouceur to John Mullanphy, for $500; April 10th, 1805.

"In that same year Mullanphy, to strengthen his title, built where the first ferry to Cahokia was situated, a stone house still standing (1886)."

April 10th, 1805 was considered, therefore, the earliest official record; but we have in the University a copy (made by another old St. Louisan, Oscar Collet) of the early cathedral records, and there we find the entry:

"Died—Mullanphy—Son of John Mullanphy, 18 months. March 8th, 1805."[9]

Was this death and burial here of his son one of the motives that made the father's heart ever turn to St. Louis as his only home?

The trip from Frankfort must have been an eventful one to all concerned. With his wife and four young daughters and his infant son, bringing several colored servants and the contents of his large store, he embarked on a flat boat, and commanding in person the men he had hired to manage the boat, started down the Ohio. On reaching the Cash river he was met by two barges, manned by French boatmen and captain,

[9]There is a letter in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives from Mullanphy to Father Badin, which is dated October 29, 1804, written from St. Louis, where he says he has bought a house with a fine garden and orchard for $3,000 in merchandise, and that he has been appointed judge of the common please and quarter sessions. This antedates all other documents, and indicates that he had been in St. Louis for some time. He concludes:

"I could wish very much that you were placed here, but I know you could not bear the laxity of morals; I don't mean to say that the people here are more wicked than your Catholics of Kentucky. Indeed I do not think they are quite so much so, but they will dance on Sunday and neglect attending at church. I am, dear Sir, yours with consideration and esteem, and wishing you health and a large prize in the lottery, J. M."

sent by the MM. Chouteau (almost the owners of St. Louis in those days) to take him in tow up stream. On reaching the Mississippi's turbid tide, Mullanphy, we are told, gave each member of the family a cup of the murky water to drink, telling them that it was the sweetest and most salubrious water on the globe. This was, of course, before our own sewers and the Chicago drainage canal had been thought of; and doubtless there was no need of filtration or the clarifying process we enjoy of late.

His destination reached, Mullanphy was heartily, and as his hosts were French, and Chouteaus at that, it goes without saying, most graciously welcomed to his future home. As he spoke English and French with equal facility, he was at once at home with all classes, and soon became one of the most popular and prominent men in the village. The store which he opened on Second street was the wonder and admiration of all; and for three years or so he remained here in the midst of a simple, honest, open-hearted and open-doored, joyous community. If we would form to ourselves a picture of the life of St. Louis at that time we have but to read the home life of the Acadians in *Evangeline*.

In point of fact, many of the people came from Acadia, mostly emigrants from Canada.[10] The American travelers or settlers at that time always comment on the absence of locks and bolts and bars. Out-fences and stockades there were, but these only as a protection against Indian attacks.

At first blush, Mullanphy's offer, made about this time, to build a courthouse in the city of St. Ferdinand, provided it were made the seat of government, may seem to argue little thought of St. Louis' future. But we must remember that with many it was "St. Louis near Florissant" in those days,[11] and the Canadians usually passed on as soon as possible to take up farms in the rich Florissant valley; so when John Mullanphy spoke of "the little struggling

[10]The Acadian feature of this region is likely to impress itself for life on a young man, who rising from his normal classes for a saunter through the Florissant valley, and overtaking there a well-browned little Creole, receives on inquiring the lad's name, the reply in honest prose, for which poor Evangeline had wandered the world, "My name is Gabriel La Jeunesse." Such was the experience of the writer. The lad and his parents were surely innocent of any even the most remote association with Longfellow, but they may very well have been of the blood of the LaJeunesses of Old Acadia.

town on the muddy stream" as the "Future Great" he was laughed at by the majority of the inhabitants. That the little town grew as it did was due in great part to his money, his energy, his initiative. One deficiency he could not remedy at the time—the lack of educational facilities for his children. A school there was indeed for the young French ladies, but he sought greater advantages, and so in 1807, leaving his business in the hands of a friend—he took his daughters to the Ursuline convent in New Orleans, and about the same time, with a Mr. Eiler as partner, established a branch store in Natchez. In 1809 he removed his family to Baltimore and placed his children in the best schools there.

Every fall "the great western merchant," as the Baltimoreans called him, took a cargo of goods to Natchez and St. Louis, spending half the year in the West. Thus it came about that he took part in two battles of the war in 1812, both of which must have been a joy to his soldier heart, and doubtless the joy was all the greater since the defeated foe was the same who had covered his native hills with ruins. He was in Baltimore during the memorable "Star Spangled Banner" attack in September, 1814, and again in January, 1815, we find him handling a musket in the trenches before New Orleans—that most glorious, but, as far as results on the war went, utterly useless victory, when, under Jackson, the gallant 6,000 held their cotton redoubts against 12,000 trained English troops, and in a twenty-five minute engagement won a battle wherein England lost 2,600 men, with the commander, Packenham, amongst the slain; whilst the American loss was only eight killed and thirteen wounded. Glorious victory, indeed! but useless, as the treaty had been signed on Christmas eve, two weeks before.

To the battle of New Orleans, or rather to Mullanphy's part in it, and what it meant for him, I shall return later; suffice it now to say that it contributed most to the making of his fortune; for as soon as possible after the battle he took the cotton he

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[11]Florissant village lies fifteen miles n. n. w. of St. Louis. All St. Louis historians know that there never was a time when that village was as populous as St. Louis; but guide books and journalists keep alive the tradition that this was once "St Louis near Florissant." Perhaps Florissant, where the Jesuits now have their headquarters, is put for the old Jesuit mission stations, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, or Ste. Genevieve, all of which were at one time better known and more numerous than St. Louis.

owned in a chartered ship to Liverpool and disposed of it at a price that made him wealthy. In 1817 he returned to New York, whither he had sent his family before the attack on Baltimore. While there his daughter Jane was married to Charles Chambers, an event of interest, indeed, to us of St. Louis. The papers of that day must have had some of the spirit of the present New York dailies, as they tried to make a sensation of the event, calling it a runaway match, an elopement. But, as a matter of fact, we know that she was married in the cathedral by Bishop Connolly, with the full consent of her father, and that her father and all the family were present. Shortly after this event Mullanphy took or sent all the other children to France to be educated, and at last in 1819 returned to St. Louis, which during all these years he had called his home.

It was about this time that an event occurred deserving of notice, as it might have shrouded in gloom the home-coming to which he had so long looked forward. Mrs. Chambers with her infant daughter, now Mrs. Lamotte, came to St. Louis by way of New Orleans, and on entering the Gulf the boat on which she sailed was chased by a pirate. The captain, of course, crowded on all sail, but the pirate drew steadily nearer. The ship was, it must be said, of English make, the big Boxer, a prize of the war of 1812. Doubtless had she been American built, she would have shown the pirate a clean pair of heels; but, as it was, consternation soon reigned aboard, for capture seemed inevitable. To save the ladies from the worse fate that awaited them should they fall into pirate hands, the captain took the dire resolve to make them walk the plank. Just as he was about to put his plan in execution, he suddenly bethought him—may we not believe, in answer to fervent prayer?—of a stratagem. The brig had been a vessel of war, the port holes were still there, and, best of all, the heavy guns had been stored in the hold for ballast. So, sails were taken in, the brig put about, and the astonished pirate beheld the guns run out and the decks cleared for action. Of course he could not know that there was not an ounce of powder aboard, so he lost no time in changing his course, and was soon hull down on the horizon. Thus the shadow of death was lifted and Mrs. Chambers joined her father in St. Louis, where he henceforward devoted all his wealth and influence and talents to the upbuilding of the city and to works of charity. In

these two fields of endeavor, we must view him if we would know the man.

For, as regards his true life, within the family circle, where he reigned as a fond husband and father, we must of necessity pass it over in almost complete silence. The privacy of home is almost too sacred to be invaded even by the most respectful and sympathetic of outsiders; yet we cannot help regretting that it must be so; for we sadly need to study an example of the true Christian, Catholic husband and father, wife and mother, and family in these days of neglected homes, when the art of home making and of rearing children in the fear and love of God may well be numbered with the lost arts. Not so with John Mullanphy; all his life was ever centered there, all his hopes and all his thought turned homewards; the home he was to found was the beacon light that guided him in all his journeys, cheered him under difficulties, and if he sought wealth, if he gave himself unremittingly to the toils of business, it was that he might give his children every advantage of education, that he might have the means to lavish on wife and children all the wealth of his heart's love. Strangers may know little of this real life of his because he lived it so; but the letters which passed between him and his wife and dear ones show to those who have had the privilege of reading them the model father and husband, one ever in spirit with the wife of his heart.

Fifteen children blessed the union of this happy pair. Seven of them died in youth or infancy, and went to adorn his other home, against the day of his coming.[12] The others lived to be

[12]The eight children of John and Elizabeth Mullanphy who reached maturity were:

1—Ellen, who died a postulant of the Religious of the Sacred Heart in Paris, March, 1827.

2—Catherine, married Major Richard Graham of Virginia. He died in 1857; she, December 7, 1875.

3—Jane, married (1817) Charles R. Chambers of Dublin. He died in 1860; she, February 24, 1891, aged 92.

4—Ann, married Major Thomas Biddle of Philadelphia. He died in 1831; she, 1846, without issue.

5—Mary, married Lieutenant (later General) William S. Harney, she died August 29, 18—, and is buried in the mortuary chapel of the Chateau de Thury, Valois.

6—Octavia, married (first) her cousin, Dennis Delaney of Maryland. It may be noted that in the baptismal record referred to above of Catherine Mullanphy, both sponsors were Delaneys. In the same records we find (See *Am. Cath. Hist. Records,* Vol. XVI., p. 385) Dennis Delaney, son of Dennis and Catherine Delaney, born September 25, 1797; baptized by Rev. L. Neale; sponsors, Eug. Logue and Eleanor Baxter.

Octavia, after the decease of Delaney, married (second) Judge Henry Boyce of Louisiana. He died March 1, 1873, and is buried at Boyce, Rapides Parish, Louisiana. She died in Paris November 12, 1876, but is buried in Calvary Cemetery, St. Louis, Missouri.

7—Bryan, who never married.

8—Eliza, married (January 10, 1833) James Clemens, Jr. He died January 12, 1878; she, August 20, 1853.

The grandchildren of John Mullanphy and Elizabeth (Brown) Mullanphy were:

the children of 2 above, that is, of Catherine (Mullanphy) GRAHAM:

9—George, who never married;

10—Thomas Biddle, who never married;

11—Jane Brent, who never married;

12—Lily, married (1851) General Daniel Marsh Frost, being his first wife.

the children of 3 above, that is, of Jane (Mullanphy) CHAMBERS:

13—Ellen, married Capt. Joseph H. LaMotte, United States Army;

14—Margaret, married Commodore William Smith, United States Navy;

15—John Mullanphy, married Sarah E. Walsh; she is still living;

16—Jane J., married Ben Franklin Thomas;

17—Eliza, married Thomas B. Hudson (no issue);

18—Anne, married George A. Thatcher;

19—Mary, married James R. Larkin;

20—Owen, who never married;

21—Thomas, became a priest of the Society of Jesus; died Cincinnati, February 20, 1908.

22—Bartholomew Maziere, married Marie C. Walsh (no mature children);

(Seven other children died in their youth.)

the children of 5 above, that is of Mary (Mullanphy) HARNEY:

23—John Mullanphy, married Mary Kimball;

24—Eliza, married (1st) Count de Noue, of the French Army; (2nd) Baron d'Este;

25—Anna B., married the Viscount de Thury;

the children of 6 above, that is, of Octavia (Mullanphy) by first marriage—DELANY:

26—Jane, married Captain Andrew Jackson Lindsay;

27—John O'Fallon, married Lizzie Sloan; no issue;

the children of 6 above, that is, of Octavia (Mullanphy)—by second marriage—BOYCE.

28—Mary, never married; died 1919.

the children of 8 above, that is of Eliza (Mullanphy)—CLEMENS.

29—James Biddle, married Eliza von Schrader; no issue;

30—Bryan Mullanphy, married Mary Ross Warfield;

31—Ellen, married Dr. James W. Clemens of Wheeling, West Virginia;

32—Catherine Jane, married (first) Joseph Byron Cates; (second) General D. M. Frost, being his third wife;

33—Alice, married Baron Von Versen of the German Army;

(Seven other children died in their youth.)

This Clemens family, and Samuel Langhorne Clemens (Mark Twain), and the writer Jeremiah Clemens, Senator from Alabama, were all descendants of James Clemens, who died in Washington County, Pennsylvania, in 1795. None were Catholics except this Mullanphy branch, although the first American Clemens, was a Spanish lady, the wife of Gregory Clemens, who condemned Charles I to death.

The Great Great Grandchildren of John Mullanphy and Elizabeth (Brown) Mullanphy were:

the children of 12 above, that is, of Lily Graham, i. e., Mrs. Daniel M. Frost:

34—Jeremiah W., never married; Richard Graham (M. C.), married Lattie Kennett;
35—Mary, married Francis Hirschberg; no issue;
36—Jennie, married Sir Louis Wm. Molesworth; she died 1913, without issue;
37—Louise, married the Hon. William Vernon, son of Lord Vernon;
38—Eva, married Philip Beresford-Hope, nephew of the late Lord Salisbury;
39—Carrie, married Carlos Blacker; Reginald, married Ruth Sterling of California;
40—John Mullanphy married (1st) Mattie Barret; and (2nd) Margaret, daughter of Judge Rowan of Bardstown, Ky., where Stephen Foster was a guest when he wrote "The Old Kentucky Home." Jack (John) Frost thus became proprietor of the estate that is always known as the Old Kentucky Home.
41—Lillie, who never married.

the children of 13 above, that is, of Ellen Chambers, i. e., Mrs. Joseph H. LaMotte:

42—Frank, married Harriet Chenie (after his death she became the wife (2nd) of General D. M. Frost);
43—Charles C., who never married;
44—Maggie, became Sister Wilfrid (poetess), of the Sisters of Loretto;
45—Nellie, married Thomas H. Coppinger;
46—Mary, married Charles Spalding of Lebanon, Ky.

the children of 14 above, that is, of Margaret Chambers (Mrs. William Smith):

47—William—who held to the name William Chambers (instead of William Smith);
48—Mary, married Bernard McQuaid;

the children of 15 above, that is, of John Mullanphy Chambers:

49—Joseph LaMotte, married Delphine Powell;
50—Charles B.;
51—Richard;

the children of 16 above, that is, of Jane J. Chambers, i. e., Mrs. B. F. Thomas:

52—Julia Jane, became Madame Thomas, Religious of the Sacred Heart;
53—Catherine Mullanphy, married John L. Boland;
54—John Richardson, married Mary Winslow;
55—Benjamin Franklin, married Sophie Cook.

the children of 18 above, that is, of Anne B. Chambers (Mrs. George A. Thatcher):

(The first three children, Charles D., Julia Ann and G. Hudson, died in childhood.)
56—Jane Chambers, married Jules Desloge (of this marriage there are (1919) seven living children; four of whom are married; and there are more than a dozen grandchildren, i. e., great-great-great grandchildren of Mullanphy);
57—Mary Christian, married James R. Loker;
58—George Francis, married Mary Ella Huff;
59—Alexander Perry, married Ella Houser, whose father was Governor of Montana;

60—Anna, became Madame Thatcher, Religious of the Sacred Heart;
61—Josephine, married L. P. Feustman;
62—Thomas Hudson, married Odille Fusz;
63—Violet, who never married;
(Two other children, Charles Chambers and Elizabeth Hudson, died in childhood.)

the children of 19 above, that is, of Mary Chambers (Mrs. James R. Larkin):
64—Thomas, H.;
65—Margaret, married Rutherford Cooke;
66—Janie who never married;
67—Bartholomew, M., who never married;
68—Elizabeth, married Ben. W. Lewis;
69—Anna, married (first) Wilbur Beal; and (second) Charles Oliver.

the children of 23 above, that is, of John Mullanphy Harney:
70—Selby, died young;
71—Benjamin of New York;
72—Nettie, married Henry Beauregard;
73—Frank L., of Boston;
74—Lily Belle, married F. B. Basset, Vice Admiral of United States Navy;
75—Adele, married L. L. Whittemore;
76—Gerald, of California.

the children of 24 above, that is, of Eliza Chambers (Countess Ludovic de Noue):
77—Guillaume, married Theresa Taylor;
78—Elizabeth, married Viscount L. D. C. Hericoult of Paris;
79—Achille, married Beatrice Read of England;

the children of 26 above, that is, of Jane Delany (Mrs. A. Jackson Lindsay):
80—Martha Newton, married Henry Von Phul Taylor;
81—John Delany;
82—Henry S.;
83—Marion, who never married;
84—Catherine Graham, married James Franciscus;
85—Mary Alice;
86—William Richard;
87—Bryan Mullanphy;
88—Andrew Jackson, married Jane McNair;

the children of 30 above, that is, of Bryan M. Clemens:
89—Lily B., married (first) Cave Conts, and (second) Dr. Charles Schrader;
90—James Ross (M. D.), married Katherine Boland.

the children of 31 above, that is, of Ellen Clemens (Mrs. James W. Clemens):
91—Brackenridge, married Rosa Blanco of Mexico;
92—Frances Elizabeth, married Captain Powhatan Clarke, U. S. A.;

the children of 32 above, that is of Catherine Clemens (Mrs. J. Byron Cates):
93—John Mullanphy, married Elizabeth Patterson LaMotte;
94—Owen Glendower;

the children of 33 above, i. e., of Alice Clemens (Baroness Max Von Versen):
95—Hulda Elizabeth, married George Von Arnim;
96—Friederich Clemens;
97—Achel James;

their parents' crown of joy. They lived to share, indeed, their glory, and to emulate their father's virtues, to employ the fortunes left them in deeds of charity that rivaled his—all his children, his grandchildren faithful to God and to mankind, fulfilling thus the Scriptures' promised blessing in regard to the children's children of those who love God. And surely he was of those who loved God and showed his love of God by loving his neighbor. Progressive citizen, liberal philanthropist, he has been called, and was, but he was ever, too, the true Catholic, firm in duty, ruled by conscience. From the time that he came to man's estate, he seemed to take for his own Gareth's motto:

"Man am I grown, a man's work must I do;
Follow (wealth)? Follow Christ the king.

98—Lucie Alice, died young;
99—Max William Fürchtegott;
100—William Reimar Joachim.

It was as a soldier, and in France, that John Mullanphy began his career; his daughters were partial to military men in the choice of their life partners; and it would be strange if in the recent turmoil of all the world, the offspring of such a family were not found mingling numerously among the belligerents. The strange thing did not occur, for a hasty glance, that fails to reach more than a third of the scions of Mullanphy, reveals a goodly number of them in the fray. We must point out a few of the more conspicuous, and first of all two English lads who made the supreme sacrifice; Robin Blacker, son of 39 in our roster above, won the Victoria Cross, and then death; and young William Vernon, son of 37, went straight to the consummation. Their brothers, Carlos Blacker and Richard Vernon, escaped without serious injury. Dr. James Ross Clemens (90), who was a Major in the Medical Corps, is perhaps the only name from the genealogical table given above, who was himself enlisted in the cause of democracy, unless, perhaps, Francis Harney (73) was a great—and not rather a great-great grand son of Mullanphy. We shall append, not their own, but the number of the ancestor of each of the other soldiers we name, since they are of two recent birth to find a place and a number in the family tree. Captain George Desloge (56) was not restrained by a wife and lovely babes from being among the very first in Missouri to be enlisted for war. Thomas and Joseph Frost (34), whose grandsire, General Frost, fought under the banner of the Confederacy, were quick to enlist under the Stars and Stripes. There were two sons of Ben Franklin Thomas (55), Von Phul and John Richardson, in the Argonne battle. One son of Brack Clemens (91), Brackenridge, Jr., was ensign on sea; the other son, Jeremiah, chose to battle in the air. The only and posthumous son of Captain Powhatan Clarke (92), who bears his father's name, also, as first lieutenant, took his part of the struggle from on high. Edward Coppinger (45) fought with the Marines, and his sister, Eleanora, served as a Red Cross nurse. Ben Lewis, M.D., (68) served with the Medical Corps; Soulard Cates (92) with the artillery; and Lindsay Franciscus (84) as captain with the cavalry. Then to show in one more word that the Mullanphy blood was everywhere we have yet to name Fritz and Max and Wilhelm Von Versen, followers of the War Lord himself. The estimate that half a hundred descendants of John Mullanphy were engaged in the World War would not be extravagant.

Live pure, speak true, right wrong, follow the king!
Else wherefor born?"

Live Pure—His home love and his home life and his children prove it. Speak True—His word was ever his bond with all who knew him. In difficulties, in disputes men went to him for advice and for decisions. He was a very judge among his fellow citizens. Right Wrong—His love of justice was such that it was deemed by some quixotic. Right wrong, in another sense, he ever did; for he followed Christ the King in manifestations of charity. The poor, the sick, the needy, the unfortunate, were ever his special care; but many of the means he took to aid them we may not know, for he succeeded often in fulfilling the Scriptural injunction: Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth. Live pure, speak true, right wrong—these he did, and "noble liver," "active doer" that he was, a man's work he did do, as is attested by all who have written of our city's early days.

Darby, the four-times Mayor of St. Louis, whom I mentioned before, says "amongst the distinguished men engaged in laying the foundation of the city and building up the same no one was more prominent than John Mullanphy." * * * "A man," he adds, "of great enterprise, foresight, judgment, he contributed more than any other individual to the building of St. Louis"; a verdict which must be concurred in by all. As citizen, he took a prominent part in planning improvements, urging on every movement, eagerly supporting every scheme which tended to the city's, even the country's, interest and prosperity.

When he brought back gold, bullion and specie, from England, in exchange for his cotton, he disposed of the gold to the government on which to base the capital for the bank of the United States—for in those days the government was in the banking business. He was instrumental in bringing to this far western town a branch United States bank, and was director of the same from its establishment in 1829 until his death. He contributed, as we are told, more money to and took more shares in the Louisville and Portland Canal than any man in the United States. A firm believer in the stability and the future growth of our city, he invested much money in real estate and erected many houses even during a financial panic.

Active, energetic worker himself, he had little sympathy with

the laissez faire spirit of many of the Creole population of the fertile Florissant valley; so he bought the town lots of many of them, often at a price above that which they could bring to-day, with all improvements, that thus he might have the right of tilling the Florissant "Commons," the most fertile part of that fertile vale, then lying fallow. He brought out a number of farmers from Ireland and settled them on this land[13]—an early attempt at a Catholic colonization scheme—which failed, however, owing to the thanklessness of many of the colonists, who too readily fell into the easy ways of their shiftless neighbors and seemed to imagine that life here must be one long feast and carousal. Exceptions, of course, there were, and these he helped to start out for themselves in St. Louis. But the others in disgust he shipped back to Ireland.

Though the dream of a tenant estate at Florissant fell through, yet all his business interests in the city prospered. Ever a stickler for justice, he was scrupulously honest and exact in all his transactions, and no shadow of suspicion rested on his dealings. His almost excessive love of justice led him into not a few law suits with those who overcharged for their services. Knowing his charitable nature, some, no doubt, attempted to impose on him, but they were sadly mistaken in their estimate of his character; with him justice in business was one thing; charity, another. He was willing to suffer pecuniary loss, as in the case of a certain Victor Habb, who often worked for him, but who, on one occasion, charged seven dollars for what should have cost five. Habb sued, but in the end lost the case, with the result that he was out $50 while the trial cost Mullanphy $20. All for a difference of $2; some may say, not so, in Mullanphy's opinion. He cared not for the money, but he would insist on justice, as he saw it, that others might not be similarly imposed upon. This rugged honesty of character made many consider him a man of strong prejudices.

But his honesty did not prevent him from amassing a fortune. No just or honorable means was ever too onerous for

[13]The present writer ventured a conjecture in the *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. IV., p. 432, that this colony was in somewise connected with the French Gallipolis colony, whose chief pastor became the first pastor of Florissant in 1792. In the same place, attention was called to what was Mullanphy's most successful financial transaction, the purchase of the St. Vrain estate, of which much may be seen in the United States State Papers

him. And he ever showed himself in business matters a man of keen foresight and executive ability. Breckenridge (he whose Friday dinner at Mullanphy's tinged the portrait of the man) tells us that Mullanphy when asked on what principle he conducted his business ventures, replied—and the answer shows the shrewdness of one of our modern captains of industry—: "When everybody wishes to sell, then I think it a good time to buy; and when all have the buying craze, then is my time to sell."

The story of his cotton deal in New Orleans, to which I referred before, may serve to show this principle in action. His usual methods, we have seen, consisted in bringing from the East the best stock obtainable and disposing of it at honest prices. The quality of his goods, with his reputation for fair dealing and reliability, built up a marvelous trade, and his investments in real estate, that grew in value as the city grew, helped to increase his riches; but his "corner in cotton" was what put him at a bound in the ranks of the wealthy.

During the War of 1812 cotton was a drug on the market, and, according to his principle, this was the time to buy. This he did during the years 1813 and 1814 and stored quite a quantity of it in the warehouses in New Orleans. After witnessing the repulse of the English attack on Fort McHenry (near Baltimore) he started for the West, and so we find him in New Orleans just prior to the attack on that city on January 8, 1815. Gen. Jackson had conceived the plan of hurriedly reinforcing his position by cotton bales, and Mullanphy's cotton was taken with the rest for the purpose.[14]

According to the usual account, this did not suit Mullanphy in the least, and in anger he demanded to be brought before the General. As soon as he approached him, he exclaimed: "General, your Quartermaster has taken all my cotton," and he then gave the exact number of bales. Jackson looked up; "That cotton yours?" "Yes, sir." "Then, egad, I know of no one who has a better right to defend it. Sergeant, get a musket for this man, and see that he has a chance to fight for his cotton." In a life of Jackson published in Boston in 1828, the story is told, with

[14]The story that Jackson gained his victory at New Orleans owing to his cotton-bale barricades has been augmented and overworked to such an extent that in reaction some may think today that no cotton was used there as breastworks at all. Cotton was used, but with no great success. There was nothing in the facts to contradict this story of Jackson and Mullanphy.

an addition, for it begins by saying "A Certain Frenchman's Cotton," and the joke was supposed to be on the Frenchman. It was not, of course, the first time Mullanphy was taken to be French. He told the story on himself. His cotton was indeed taken, and he went to Jackson to make known beforehand the exact amount. But that it required compulsion to make him handle a gun against the British we can easily doubt, as he had done so at Baltimore a short time before. That there was no constraint between himself and Gen. Jackson, as there probably would have been had the usual version been true, is evident from the lasting friendship between them and the great distinction and consideration the President years afterwards showed Mullanphy when a legal case took him to Washington during Jackson's administration.

But the business end of the cotton was not yet. Many of the bales, used for breastworks, had been soiled or torn, and the owners declared that they would look to the government for reimbursement. Mullanphy saw that this process would be slow and uncertain; so as soon as possible after the battle he went to Jackson and agreed if the same number of bales as had been taken were returned uninjured, to waive all further claims on the government. This was done, and the rest of the cotton put up at auction, with the maximum selling price fixed at 4 cents a pound.

Mullanphy, with his knowledge of the defeat at Baltimore, felt sure of the speedy termination of the war—this was, of course, before the days of the telegraph, wireless or wired—even before the fast mail service to the South and West, and so he could not know that peace had been declared two weeks before the cotton victory. But he did know that the mails were carried overland to New Orleans via Natchez, and he knew a faster way. He expected peace; and peace spelled money in cotton. So he hired a keel boat and a number of rowers and betook himself to Natchez. They ate and slept in the skiff, and when Natchez was reached, he instructed his crew to remain near the boat night and day, as he knew not what moment he would start on his return. He himself sauntered through the town, and late in the evening the post rider, who, to prevent further bloodshed, had obtained a fresh horse every ten miles, came galloping into Natchez crying "Peace! Peace!" Mullanphy

at once ran to the river, and ordered his men to make all haste for New Orleans. They did not know what had occurred, but rowed all night, and with the strong current of the mighty river helping them, made the Crescent City in good time.

There was, of course, no further danger of bloodshed, so Mullanphy could safely keep his news to himself, but he made good use of it, and bought up all the cotton he could get or bargain for. Late on the second day the quantity he had purchased began to make people suspect that he had some secret information. On the morning of the third day, the guns, booming the tidings of peace, confirmed their suspicions, but Mullanphy had the cotton.

And when the ship he had chartered took it to Liverpool it sold readily at 30 cents a pound. This earliest "corner" in cotton, that we know of, may be said to have made St. Louis; for it sent Mullanphy back a wealthy man to employ that wealth here by beginning or assisting everything that made for growth, expansion and progress.

To his wealth and that of the men associated with him was due the financial standing of St. Louis. The Gratiots and MM. Chouteau we have already mentioned, but there were others of American or Irish stock who came to the city about this period, men of activity, like unto his, whose coming infused new life and energy into the town. One of these should in justice be mentioned here. Let me quote from Sharf, p. 199: "Our Irish citizens of that day included in their number a very liberal proportion of gentlemen of education and acquirements. St. Louis is indebted to the enterprise and public spirit of one of her earliest Irish citizens for the finest avenue she now possesses."

The man referred to here is the same who gave a piece of ground to Bishop Dubourg on which to erect a college. This property, with two additions purchased later, formed the grounds of the old college[15] on Ninth and Washington. To the city he

[15]Jeremiah Connor's gift to the city of what is today Washington Avenue, a piece of property worth millions, should indeed perpetuate his name; but it has not done so, quite so much as his intention of giving two lots to the Bishop for a college. He conditioned the gift of the lots on the event that the college should be erected within seven years. The seven years had transpired before the building went up, and the property was paid for by the college authorities.

It is interesting to note that this Connor, who was, after Mullanphy, the Bishop's greatest support in St. Louis at this period, was also an active

gave a strip of land from the river front to our present Jefferson avenue, one mile and a half in length, and one hundred and eighty feet wide, our present Washington avenue; and not a street or tablet in St. Louis perpetuates his name. How many of our citizens have ever heard of the gift or the name even of Jeremiah Connor? So, too, it might have fared with him whose life we are considering, had all his wealth and all his work been done for the city alone. The world, after all, easily forgets. But his best work was not for the world; and so his name shall live in the Mullanphy Hospital and Mullanphy Orphan Asylum, as his daughter's name Ann Biddle, has been preserved in the Biddle Home and St. Ann's Foundling Asylum.

This leads me to speak of John Mullanphy charities. What we need most these days is the lesson of true charity. Philanthropists, so called, we have in plenty, building with their excessive millions which they cannot use, libraries, with their names, of course, blazoned upon them. And the sums they give are really for them not what $100 would be for others—these we have, but the man of charity that tries to help in secret, that gives through others so as to remain unknown, and thus gives when not overburdened with wealth, "such a man might be a copy to these younger times—which followed well would demonstrate them now—but goers backward."

And such a one was John Mullanphy. Yet when speaking of his charities we must needs confine ourselves to his more public deeds, since these he could not hide: though well we know, as one of his granddaughters lately wrote, his whole life in St. Louis was one long deed of charity.

To him we owe the first, and for many years, the only hospital in St. Louis—the first Catholic hospital as far as known, in the United States, and it has been called the first institution of its kind in this country.

To him we owe the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, whom he brought on, to begin the hospital, offering them "a piece of ground with two houses, another lot with houses that will bring a revenue of $600 per annum, $350 for traveling expenses, and $350 to furnish the house." They came in 1828.

But who could estimate the good their coming brought St.

Freemason. The condemnation of that order was clearly not so conspicuous a religious fact then as today. Connor was never married.

Louis and the rich harvest of their long years of labor and suffering in our midst, the many, many saved, not in body only, but in soul, that else had died forever. What a world of good in those first crowded quarters during the awful year of Asiatic cholera. Such was their success that both the general and city government made choice of this hospital for all patients, and when in 1845 the city had its own hospital, the Sisters were put in charge and remained until the fire of '56. Then prejudice, the KnowNothing craze, took it from them. That prejudice passed but its work has not been undone, and what a loss of souls alone must have resulted. There is a lesson here for us to learn besides that of Mr. Mullanphy's charity. We Catholics are too remiss at times, suffering calumny to pass unchallenged, allowing blatant ignorance or malice to have its say; secure in the conviction that we are right, the others wrong, we sit supinely by, or bow before the storm, saying that it will pass. Yes, it will pass, but the loss resulting may take years to repair, maybe in many cases, as the present, never to be repaired.

Another example is the Medical Department of the St. Louis University.[16] It too had to close its doors during the storm, it is only now that we are getting back the medical department; and the school we once had is now a part of another university, a non-Catholic institution. But to return to our subject, the hospital: It was begun by the Sisters, and after being managed for a number of years by the St. Louis Hospital Association, at last came to its own and is known to-day, as it should be, as the Mullanphy Hospital. John Mullanphy assisted in establishing the boys' orphan home and the home for destitute widows mentioned before.

In 1827 he gave the Religious of the Sacred Heart twenty-four acres on Fourth street, near the old French market, for educational purposes. A brick house, too, he presented and $1,000 besides, to assist in opening a seminary for young ladies—on condition that the religious educated twenty young orphan girls.

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[16]The St. Louis University organized a Medical Department in 1837, which was conducted along the lines of the highest standards, until it was attacked and its instruments all shattered by a Know Nothing mob. Owing to the constant fear of reiteration of such acts, the Medical School was separated from the University in 1855, known henceforth (for many years) as Pope's Medical College, in honor of its Dean, Dr. Charles Pope, father of Rev. John O'Fallon Pope, S. J.

He promised, too, so Madame Duchesne tells us, a small sum for each orphan child's entrance and a like amount annually during her stay and a little gift at her departure. The superb convent at Maryville and the new Sacred Heart Academy and Mullanphy Asylum at Taylor and Maryland avenues show what the gift is worth to-day, for it is their greatest source of revenue. A similar offer was made for boys, but its acceptance was impossible at the time.[17]

His minor gifts are countless. In Florisant the present church of St. Ferdinand owes its existence to him, for, because of a dispute between the Bishop on one side and priest and people on the other, no site for the new church could be secured till Mullanphy broke the strike by his offer. The Mullanphy pews in the church still tell of his and his wife's generosity. At his own expense he erected the convent which the Sisters of Loretto now occupy, as the community house; and the Jesuit novitiate owes something to his charity; for I well remember how we St. Louis boys were struck soon after our arrival there as novices to hear the announcement made: "To-morrow Mass, Holy Communion and prayers will be offered for the souls of John Mullanphy and wife—benefactors of this house." And twice each year is Mass said and the prayers and Holy Communions of the novices and young students offered in memory of kindness done so long ago.[18] How many similar deeds of his there surely were of which no record remains.

Some of the known ones we must mention. During the cholera's first visit, in 1832, the percentage of fatalities in St. Louis was very high, but in Florisant it was 100 per cent., for every case recorded there proved fatal. When the dread scourge

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[17]This offer for boys was made to the Jesuit Fathers of the St. Louis University, who could not agree with Mullanphy on the conditions. We do not know what these were, but in the case of the ophan girls committed to the Religious of the Sacred Heart we know so great was his fear that they might be educated out of their family surroundings that he required that they go barefoot a large part of the year, and that they should enjoy no beverages from overseas, such as coffee. In a friendly suit, conducted by Judge Garesche, the religious were permitted by the laws of Missouri to be more generous in shoes and coffee.

[18]This announcement, as may be seen in the Novitiate Records, dates from December 28, 1847, and is made "in consideration of many favors granted to the House of St. Stanislaus by Judge Bryan Mullanphy, and especially for aid afforded to the building of the new house now being built for a Novitiate." The Novitiate obligated itself *in perpetuum* to have two Masses said for his father and mother, John and Elizabeth Mullanphy.

reappeared in 1833 in a more virulent form, our man of charity brought to Florisant a young doctor, Julian Henry of Pennsylvania, who had treated cases in the hospital in Philadelphia. Mullanphy's instructions were: "Treat all cases and put to my account all who cannot, or who fail to pay." Mullanphy's daughter, Katherine—Mrs. Major Graham[19]—received the doctor into her house, and under his direction prepared medicines, etc., for there was not an apothecary in the neighborhood. Major Graham furnished the horses for the doctor's many calls. Strange as it may seem, of all the cases Dr. Henry treated not one proved fatal.

Another example shows how, when he was able, he hid his good deeds from the eyes of men. There was but one bake shop in St. Louis at the time, kept by D. D. Page. Mr. Mullanphy (the fact transpired only after his death) went to Page during a time of panic, when flour was high, and gave him $400, telling him to supply gratis all needy persons who should ask, but to give the bread as a gift from himself. He promised a further donation as soon as the amount should be exhausted. Needless to say, the name and fame of the baker grew apace when it was noised abroad that "Page was giving away bread to all the poor down town."

Let us now see how he united charity to justice. A poor widow owed him some rent, $4 in all, and he with his attorney (who told the story afterward) went to colllect it. The woman, however, tried to beg off; "You are a rich man," she urged, "and will not miss the sum, but I will." "No, no," was his reply, "the debt is just and you must pay it." And pay it she did; but that same day Mullanphy bought a cow and sent it to the widow as a present, telling her that if she helped herself she could get enough from selling the milk to pay her rent in future and have something besides.

He was ever ready to help the deserving. A mechanic's note for $500 came up for discount and Mullanphy alone of the directors of the bank voted to allow it. In surprise, he asked the others the reason of the vote, as he knew the maker was good. He was told, in answer, that the indorser was not responsible.

[19]The Missouri Historical Society has an exquisitely printed little brochure on Major Richard Graham. It was prepared by his granddaughter, Mrs. Mary Hirshberg.

Asking the one who sat next him to move a reconsideration, he, as soon as the motion was carried, wrote his own name across the note saying, "Will it pass now, gentlemen?" It was of course voted for by the board, Mullanphy, according to the rules, excepted; and thus to one unaware of his endorsement he alone seemed opposed to the note's acceptance.

In ways like this his life was filled with well being, with deeds of purest charity, known in their entirety to God alone; for often the poor were ignorant of the source of the gifts bestowed.

Many and great are his claims on the admiration, and, may we say it? imitation of all St. Louisans, especially those who are Catholics. Yet not on St. Louis alone has he claims, for in a codicil to his will we find that he left $25,000—$3,000 for an aged widows' home and the rest to the few Catholic bishops then in the United States to establish orphanages for boys.

But his greatest claim on our remembrance is the life he led—the example he gave—the children he raised—for in their kindly deeds, their charities he still lives. Still lives—though his name. except when borne as a Christian name by some of his descendants, died with his son, Bryan Mullanphy, Judge of the Circuit Court and one time Mayor of St. Louis.

No account of the father would be complete which failed to mention the children, but to speak of all, would carry me too far; so begging the ladies' pardon, and the Judge's too, for I am sure if consulted his reply would be *"Place aux dames,"* we shall say a few words of their younger brother. They were seven to one; and besides they have, in a sense, forfeited a claim to mention here in a paper entitled Mullanphy, since they all, with the exception of the oldest, Ellen, who died in Paris, while preparing to become a Religious of the Sacred Heart, gave up, and willingly, too, the name of their father. And who that knows aught of St. Louis, but has heard the name, and known the hospitality of the Chambers, Grahams, Biddles, Harneys, Clemens, Delaneys, Boyces?[20] And thus the daughters' names and descendants are still in our midst, giving additional lustre to the father's name, presenting a sight too seldom seen in this land

[20]Most of these names are borne by important thoroughfares in St. Louis. Mullanphy, Chambers and Biddle Streets are in the old part of the city, and are parallel with Washington Avenue; Graham, Harney, Boyce and Clemens are avenues in the residential section.

of ours. For seldom, if ever, do we hear of the heirs of a man noted for deeds of charity following, as these have done, even to the fifth generation, in his footsteps, carrying on with generous purpose, with unfailing zeal, the work of their progenitor.

One point in this connection is surely unique. Not only has the city benefited by their lives and charities, but the Church has grown in numbers directly through their influence; for only the other day I read a list prepared by Miss Boyce,[21] granddaughter of Mullanphy, giving the names of seventeen men and women who entered the Church through marriage with his descendants.

Well, the ladies would not be denied mention, after all, so let us turn now to Bryan, the inheritor of all his father's generous nature, if not all his love of business activity.

Born in Baltimore, at the age of nine he was sent to France, and after four years at a Jesuit college there, transferred to Stonyhurst, England, graduating at eighteen with all the honors of the school. Returning to St. Louis in 1827, we find his name entered for rhetoric class in the Jesuit College here in 1828 and 1829, and the following year "graduated" is marked opposite his name. So St. Louis can claim him as her first graduate, though not her first "A. B." man, as the college had not received its charter at the time, and could not confer degrees. He chose the law as his profession, and, despite his great wealth, practiced. He was elected Mayor of St. Louis, and during that time by his fearlessness protected the old University from the mob. He was for four years judge of the County Court, and with such knowledge and so carefully were his decisions rendered, that very seldom, if ever, was a finding of his reversed.

But, best of all, like his father, his chief claim to grateful remembrance lay in his myriad private charities. In imitation of his father, too, he tried to hide his good deeds and avoid pauperizing the poor while aiding them. The means he took were so varied and so successful that many misunderstood him and charged him with being eccentric. On one occasion he furnished a house with new, but cheap furniture, and placed a poor family in charge, paying them for keeping his furniture neatly dusted

[21] Miss Mary E. Boyce, who in her charities, maintained the traditions of the Mullanphys in life and in death, was called to her reward only last year. It was somewhat characteristic of her fixity of good will that no change or codicil was added to her last will and testament after June 6, 1881.

and clean. Again, he purchased a cow from a poor woman, who had been forced to sell it, and told her that, as his barn was not yet ready, she had to keep the cow for him. He warned her to keep his property in good condition, and paid her well for doing so, though, of course, he never came to claim the property. Odd he may have been, even eccentric, if you will, in the means he took, but none was ever yet found to impeach the motives of the great heart that prompted all his actions. He is best known to our citizens, doubtless, by reason of the Mullanphy Emigrant Fund, which he founded by willing one-third of his whole estate "to furnish relief to all poor emigrants, passing through St. Louis, to settle bona fide in the West." A needed charity, indeed, at that time, though scarcely of use now, since our Government takes care not to let needy emigrants land; yet a charity, doubtless, that could have been provided for by other means, as events have shown. Some have looked upon it as another of his whims, yet we are assured, on the other hand, that years before he had discussed with his great priest friend, afterwards Bishop Duggan of Chicago, the means of aiding this unfortunate class of persons, thrown by famine and persecution on our shores.

The desire of making evident to all that he wished to include in this charity all who fulfilled its conditions, irrespective of race or creed, led him, no doubt, to give the money in trust to the city rather than to some other organization as his father would probably have done. Litigation followed, as there was serious doubt among other things of the city's right to hold money in trust for such a purpose. The Supreme Court of Missouri in 1860 rendered the decision by which St. Louis became the owner in trust of one-third of the estate. But as Bryan had died possessed of valuable property in New York, the case came up before the Supreme Court there, and that body decreed that the city of St. Louis was "not authorized by its charter to hold property within or without its boundaries in trust for the charitable purposes mentioned." Just the reverse of the Missouri ruling.

In 1861, ten years after the bequest was made, the cash collections were: Cash, $8,280.24, and rents, $3,034.62—$11,314.86, but it was not until four years later that any expenditure was made for the beneficiaries of the will, and the total for that year was the ridiculous sum of $74, while the amount expended was:

For taxes, $2,059.84; improvements, $16,722.72; for salaries, $17,648.60. For the emigrants, $74; for expenses, $26,431.16; and this "extraordinary management," as it has been called, continued for some years, until at last public opinion was shocked and something had to be done. Of late years, with some of the descendants of J. Mullanphy on the board, the fund has been managed in the spirit of its generous founder, though, of course, there are few, if any, emigrants who fall under its provisions. The noble hearted donor who had wished thus to aid a class, whose sufferings he had witnessed when Mayor of the city, cannot be blamed for the management of the fund. The blame lies with the system that leaves it to our enlightened politics to appoint to a position of public trust men who consider the money left for the benefit of themselves and friends.

I see, ladies and gentlemen, this topic has carried me further than I intended to go in speaking of Bryan Mullanphy—too far I fear; but I am under promise to show how Irish saints are in a way indebted to a Mullanphy. To do this will bring me back to my starting place; and, as no doubt you are glad to hear, bring me also to the end.

It was Bryan's custom to hear Mass daily at the Old Cathedral, and there one day he beheld a man in the dress of a river fireman assisting at the Holy Sacrific. The rivermen of that time must have been about as pious as those of to-day, for the Judge was evidently surprised at the sight. The surprise grew on seeing the man present several mornings in succession; and so, when they chanced to meet at the door, Bryan laughingly asked him, how it chanced that a man of his calling came to week-day Mass. The answer was that he had been an ecclesiastical student in Ireland, but had to interrupt his studies to support his widowed mother. He had gone to Canada, but as work was scarce there, had been advised to seek St. Louis. Here, as his slender means were about exhausted, he took the first employment that offered.

"And what about your vocation?" asked the Judge. "Oh, when mother dies, or I've secured enough to support her I intend to return to the seminary." "Come with me," was Bryan's only answer, and he called a carriage and drove first to the Bishop's and then, as he was not at home, to the seminary and introduced his companion as a new student. "But I have to support my mother," began the prospective seminarian. "I'll see to that."

When assured by the superior that the gentleman who made this offer to a complete stranger was one who could and would keep his word, arrangements were at once made for his entrance. During his days of study, Bryan had his protégé call to see him each week, when he put him through a stiff examination in his Latin, Greek, English and French, for the Judge had kept up his reading.

Later, when the man, now a priest, returned an invalid to St. Louis and appeared slowly to be sinking, in the residence near St. John's, the generous fare furnished by his former benefactor and that benefactor's sister saved his life. And thus it came about that the famous Canon O'Hanlon, who died only within the year, was enabled to follow his high calling and had his health restored through a son of John Mullanphy.

In a little book of his, *Life and Scenery in Missouri,* the reverend author pays his tribute of gratitude to his benefactor. As you are aware, Canon O'Hanlon is the author of the famous lives of the Irish Saints. He traveled over Europe, looking up the lives of those of Erin's Saints who had carried the light of faith and civilization into Belgium, Germany and other lands, many of whom were never recognized as Saints of Ireland until his loving labors served to make them known.

So it came to pass that John Mullanphy, who drank in infancy his strong, living, ardent faith in the valley traversed so often by St. Patrick, and in the shadow of the ruined homes of the monks of old, later, without his knowledge, through the son he had brought up in the Ancient Faith and imbued with his own love of God and men, saved the vocation and the life of him who was to be the biographer of the Saints of Ireland. So, sometimes the good we do lives after us, nor is always interred with our bones.

And who can estimate the good John Mullanphy did in life, and after it, and will continue to do as long as the institutions he founded are maintained, and as they are in the keeping of religious congregations, they promise to endure as long as the Church endures in this land of ours?

And all the good deeds done through him there—the Masses offered in the churches he helped raise or founded, the religious houses he helped build, the prayers of the religious teachers, and of the orphans for whom he provided those homes, and of the

poor helped in his hospital, of the widows and orphan boys his bequests still help—all these are not only a source of glory to him now, but of blessings unseen, untold but none the less real to his descendants. Look at those descendants scattered through the world to-day. Did his generosity leave them any the poorer? Or, rather, is not God's hand extended over them munificently still, because of the generosity in giving of their progenitor? Long since the inspired prophet chanted, "I have been young and I now am old, and I have never yet seen the just forsaken nor his offspring begging their bread." Just indeed he was, and he gave lavishly, and in him and in his seed we see the fulfillment of the royal Psalmist's words, and know that it will continue to be so, for he showed mercy, and lent all the day long, and his seed shall be in blessing.

THE BRYAN MULLANPHY WILL

Since that blustery night of 1906 in St. Louis, when Father MacMahon told the connected story of the career of John Mullanhpy, touching incidentally on the will of Bryan, that worthy's only son, much waters have run under many a mill and swept away in their current many an erstwhile stable institution; but, under Missouri's laws, no jot or tittle if the provisions of the last testament of Bryan Mullanphy, despite almost perpetual litigation to set it aside, has been moved from the fixed purpose to which it was designated almost three quarters of a century ago.

The old-time story has it that Mullanphy was suddenly struck with the benevolent purpose of befriending the needy wayfarer, while drinking at a bar to the health of some beer-loving Germans just back from the Mexican war. It recounts that leaning on the counter, he called for a piece of paper, and no such commodity appearing promptly, he tore a fly-leaf from a book near at hand, and proceeded at once to indite thereon a will which has successfully withstood so many judicial attacks.[22] But the story will not stand the test of the criticism of these dry days; for the fact is the will is not written on a fly-leaf, but on an ordinary first page of a sheet of letter paper. It runs as follows:*

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[22]This story appears in the *Bench and Bar of Missouri,* by W. V. N. Bay, in an intimate appreciation of Mullanphy.

*See MSS account of the Mullanphy estate, by Judge M. J. Murphy, preserved by the Mullanphy Board.

"I, Bryan Mullanphy, do make and declare the following to be my last will and testament:

"One equal undivided one-third of all my property, real, personal and mixed, I leave to the City of St. Louis, in the State of Missouri, in trust, to be and constitute a fund to furnish relief to all poor emigrants and travelers coming to St. Louis, on their way, bona fide, to settle in the west.

"I do appoint Felix Coste and Peter G. Camden, executors of this, my last will and testament, and of any other will or executory devise that I may leave; all and any such documents will be found to be in autograph (in my own handwriting).

"In testimony whereof, witness my hand and seal.

(SEAL) Bryan Mullanphy.

"Witnesses present:

Adolphus Wislizenus,
John Wolfe,
M. A. Warne,
D. August Schnable."

Three wafers sealed the paper, and an endorsement on it read: "St. Louis, August 31st, 1849. I leave this document in the hands of the City of St. Louis by delivering the same to the Mayor."

Before two years had expired, on June 15, 1851, young Mullanphy died. The general notion that he died intestate was quickly dissipated, for the first story of this Mullanphy will may be seen in the St. Louis *Republican* of June 17, written therefore before his body was laid to rest. The representatives of his immediate family were summoned, and the will read to them. They seemed to have made no demur, and the document was duly probated.

No legal difficulty was made over the omission of a date from the will itself; the endorsement was sufficiently dated, and the witnesses testified that they had signed such an instrument "sometime in August, 1849." The further irregularity that the will was never delivered, as directed, to the Mayor, was satisfactorily explained away by the then Comptroller of the City, later United States Senator, David H. Armstrong, who declared that Mullanhpy wrote the endorsement in his presence in Felix Coste's office, saying as he took his pen from the paper: "David, I place this in your keeping as Comptroller of the City; please place it

where you or your successor can produce it after my death." Armstrong suspecting something of the importance of the paper committed to his care, hastened to deposit it in the office of the City Register, the Mayor being absent from the city at the time.

For eight long years after Mullanphy's death the estate lay idle. Emigrants, some of them in dire need, came and went through St. Louis, unaided and uncared for, save by the ordinary processes of civic charity. The will was as if it had never been. It was the duty of no particular officer of the city government to attend to the execution of Mullanphy's bequests and nobody assumed the burden of attempting to do so. To the Mullanphy family the will was an entanglement. No division had ever been made between their property and this estate, and they were unable to dispose of any real estate holding, while this encumbrance remained. Finally, seeing that no good came of the legacy, and that it was an obstacle to important, and at times, almost necessary business transactions, some of the members of the family determined to bring the question of the validity of the will before the courts.

Some small part of the estate was in New York City, and his sister, Octavia, Mrs. Henry Boyce, brought the matter before the New York courts; Jane, another sister, Mrs. Charles Chambers, similarly appealed to the law of Missouri. It is a curious commentary on the justice of legal determinations, that the findings of these two Supreme Courts were flatly contradictory. The new York Court[23] held that the city of St. Louis was not authorized or in any way empowered to hold a charitable trust; the Missouri Court* in a very lengthy decision, in this the first case of a charitable trust that had ever come before it for adjudication, held that the City of St. Louis *was* so empowered, and this despite the fact that the New York decision to the contrary had already been rendered.

Missouri was scarcely an indifferent party in so important a suit, and its widespread interest is attested by an act of the State Legislature, passed just while this question was in the courts (March 12, 1859), whereby the city of St. Louis was declared "to be capable of taking and holding property . . . given or to be

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[23]Octavia Boyce et al. v. City of St. Louis et al. New York Supreme Court.

*Chambers et al v. City of St. Louis. Missouri Supreme Court.

given for charitable purposes, and of executing all such charity trusts in like manner as natural persons are." The lay mind might think this new power granted to the city was an indication that such jurisdiction was formerly wanting; but the judge, while admitting that the law could not be retroactive, found that in some way it argued in favor of the city and strengthened his position.

Much of the decision of the American courts turned on the adoption or the rejection by the various States of this nation of the statute of the 43rd Elizabeth, chapter 4, on charitable uses; and it is positively pitiable to note how the peers of the American bar were at sea in attempting to elucidate what was the common law of Catholic England, before the Tudors robbing the Church and the poor and the dead, made themselves parents of the fatherland (*parens patriae*), and blandly committed to themselves an autocratic disposal of all gifts left to charity. It strikes the American Catholic with some dismay to see how far down into the centuries, and this side of the Atlantic, the long fingered black-hand of Elizabeth is able to reach, and how its bejewelled wrist has won respect for its robberies even from keen-minded and excellent men of the ermine.

The property in New York was divided among the relatives; that in Missouri, both those in parts in the city and those beyond the city limits, came under the trusteeship of the city corporation. After the decision of the Supreme Court in 1860, the City of St. Louis, by ordinance, arranged a plan of management of the estate. This first plan did not function, and was modified the following year, and from this date, just ten years after the death of the testator, relief began to be given to the heirs.

By heirs, of course, are meant not his relatives, nor the City of St. Louis, but the beneficiaries of the will. Mullanphy is said to have enjoyed throwing a certain element of humor into his benefactions during life. He surely did so in his final testament. It somewhat upsets the natural processes of thought to combine in one mental picture an heir to a handsome fortune and a wayfarer needing relief. Yet such is the incongruity he has forced upon us. The needy emigrant, not the City of St. Louis, is the heir. The Supreme Court of Missouri has put this beyond controversy. It was contended that, since the city property is exempted from taxation, this city estate ought also

to be exempted. (June 25, 1898.) But the Court pronounced adversely; it held that the city was not the heir, it is merely the trustee holding the estate until the true heir comes along. The wayfarer is the true heir. Provided only he could turn his pockets inside out and prove that he was in want, the exile of Erin, lured by golden visions towards the Pacific; the German 'forty-niner, ready to institute a new agriculture and a new democracy along the fertile affluents of the Missouri; the Illinois Nauvoo Mormon, bedraggling his way towards Smith's New Zion on the Great Salt Lake; or the black-skinned freedman, struggling out towards the contest for supremacy in "Bleeding Kansas," was the genuine heir to the great fortune that St. Louis kept tightly in its strong box through many hours of stress.

The heir at length arrived. He began to appear in 1861. From that date until June 1, 1917, he has rapped at the door of St. Louis asking for his inheritance, and been recognized just 50,787 times. He has been given $253,767.53, or an average of $4.99 at each call. The amount looks small, but at least sometimes it has been rich in charity.

I recall a Christmas night some ten or twelve years ago, when owing to repairs that were being made on the Eads bridge, the train service was held up so vexatiously that many of us got out of the cars and crossed the bridge over the foot passage. The wind was sweeping down the Mississippi channel as through a shaft, and the pedestrians pushing ahead against the blasts were stooped so low that they paid little attention to right or left, being intent rather on observing their footing on the sleety pavement of the viaduct. There are exceptions to every rule, and here amid the jostling throng a poor Italian, accompanied by his wife and eight children (whom he had tied together with a ribbon) could not fail to attract some casual attention. At the St. Louis end of the bridge, the wife fell exhausted, the ribbon that held the children broke, and there was a sudden confusion which instantly transformed itself into a promiscuous mob about the fallen creature. The biting wind helped the two policemen to disperse the greater number, but those of us who remained heard something like the following dialogue between the guardian of the law and the guardian of so many future Americans:

"—Name? —Colombo? (A heartless wag remarked: 'I'm afraid Colombo is discovering America.')

"From? New York.

"Where are you going? Tont-town, Arkansas. My brother, he live here, St. Louis. My wife, she very sick."

Here is a case for the Mullanphy Board; call a cab, said one of the officers to the other.

No sooner said than done. The mother was tenderly placed first in the carriage, and all the children were fitted about her. The father and an officer were able to squeeze on top with the driver, and away they flew to the headquarters of the Mullanphy Board at the Union Depot, and thence at once to the colony of the Colombos out on Pattison Avenue under the shadow of the Church of St. Ambrogio, where such a reception was organized at once for them as only Catholic hearts can know. Smiles and kindly tears were the best medicine for the sick woman, no physician was called these with the warmth and plenteous food rendered his coming unnecessary. Part of the New Year's *fiesta* at St. Ambrogio's was the tender farewell to the now happy family. A new blue ribbon bound the laughing children together as they renewed their way to Tontitown. All their memories of St. Louis were of the sweetest; not everywhere in the New World had they been trampled on and met rebuffs. They thanked God and the Madonna for the goodness of St. Louis; but they never heard of the man whose kindness was so promptly at hand in their hour of need.

It cannot be claimed that this narrative conforms with literal historic verity. It is inserted here merely as an illustration intended to convey at a glance some sense of the gladness the fund has brought into many a heart sorely in need of comfort. It would be too much to think that the foundation has caught up the other 50,000 of its beneficiaries so happily, but who will deny that a very large number of these were lifted up from the earth and reanimated for life's battles in just some such manner. It seemed necessary to present this picture before turning to the less pleasant aspect of the management of the fund. For there is another side of the story.

No one who knows anything of the history of the will can think for a moment of the $4.99 meted out to the purposes of charity without adverting to the painful fact that more than five times that amount is taken from the fund to be diverted to other ends. From 1861 until December 1, 1916, the income of the

estate, willed to the needy traveler, was $1,961,541.42; the total expenditure was $1,950,650.66; while the amount bestowed in relief was but $253,767.53. The salaries of the secretaries and other employees of the Board for the last several years has been $10,440 annually, while the sum given to the needy traveler averages yearly about one-fifth of that figure. Were any stepmother to pay herself twenty-five dollars every time she dispensed five dollars to her stepchild, the heir, she would undoubtedly be quickly removed from her position of guardian. Yet such is just the character of the trusteeship that St. Louis has been exercising during a long period of years, and there is as yet no hope of betterment.

Nor can the City of St. Louis well be blamed. The city may justly contend that nothing could be attempted to remedy the affair that it has not tried. It would be tedious to enumerate any fraction of the various efforts that have been made to render the management more effective and satisfactory. The courts have been petitioned time and again to permit a wider meaning of the wording of the will; once or twice, a lower court has granted such permission only to have the concession quickly denied by a higher tribunal. The character of the Board of Management has been changed whenever there was a hope of betterment; but non-party control has never been more effective than political management. A Mullanphy Emigrant Home was conducted for several years but unsatisfactorily. A model tenement house is at present part of the estate, a sort of social settlement experiment. A bureau, known as the Mullanphy Travelers' Aid, is in operation. Three persons are at the Union depot from 7:00 a. m. until 11:00 p. m. to provide relief, protection from danger, and prevention of crime for emigrants and travelers, especially women, girls and boys traveling alone. Unfortunately this bureau is upstairs at the depot, where no traveler ever thinks of going, and few people in St. Louis know of its existence. There never has been any scandal in connection with the manipulation of the funds, unless it is all a scandal. I mean that there has never been a time in which the officers in charge were ever suspected of dishonesty. On the contrary, these men are for the most part just such as nature would seem to recommend for works of beneficence.

In 1898 an attempt was made by the officers of the City of St.

Louis, in which all the collateral heirs concurred, to have the whole estate sold and the revenue devoted, under the legal doctrine of Cy Pres, to the building of a Bryan Mullanphy City Hospital, whose first care should be for the wants of needy emigrants. Final decision in this matter was given adversely by the Missouri Supreme Court[25] in the October term of 1902. The judge in deciding for the defendant added, however, that he did so "without prejudice to the plaintiff's right to bring another suit of the same nature, when it is prepared to show that the property can be sold without sacrifice and a sum sufficient to insure the accomplishment of its purpose can be realized."

In 1916 the city again prepared to sell the real estate and convert its value into bonds, since the real property called for such large expenditure for upkeep and repairs. Some of the relatives presented themselves as intervenors on this occasion, and presented a lengthy contention that the will was void. It would seem, as the United States Government by its immigration laws has made the needy emigrant from over the seas an impossibility, and as the different States all look upon needy travelers as vagrants, that there has ceased to be any such objects for relief as those for whom the will was made. But the Missouri Supreme Court (Jan. 26, 1920) forbids any change to be made in the management of the trust.

St. Louis accordingly still holds ninety-three pieces of excellent real estate, whose book value is $900,000, but which would bring in the market today $1,250,000, and it does not know what to do with it. It is clear that municipalities are of their nature not the proper instruments for the execution of charitable trusts. No more honest and earnest experiment could possibly have been made than this of St. Louis; and the failure could scarcely be more conspicuous. Public ownership is no panacea.

[25]City of St. Louis, trustee, v. Edward C. Crow, Attorney-General Missouri Reports, Vol. 171.

THE JAMES DUDLEY MORGAN COLLECTION OF L'ENFANT PAPERS

By Margaret B. Downing

On June 14, 1825, Pierre Charles L'Enfant, a major of engineers in the Continental Army and author of the incomparable ground plan from which the American Capital has arisen, passed from a life of painful vicissitudes. Like the great Dante, he was eating the bread of dependence and he found it bitter. His death occurred at Chillum Castle Manor, Green Hill, in Prince George County, Maryland, the estate of the Digges family, on whose bounty he had been a pensioner for nearly ten years. He had been prepared for death by the missioner who attended the near-by St. Ann's chapel at Rockville, and he was buried with simple rites on the lawn of the Manor beneath a great oak where he had brooded unceasingly as his stormy career drew towards the peace of the grave. In the inventory prepared for the legal authorities, the estate of this illustrious patriot, architect, engineer and artist was valued at less than forty dollars and consisted of some trifling pieces of jewelry, several compasses and other instruments used in his profession.

Previous to his death, L'Enfant had confided his private papers to the gentle and affectionate lady of the Manor, Mrs. William Dudley Digges. She was the daughter of the unfortunate Frenchman's arch-enemy, Daniel Carroll of Duddington, and mindful of the misery the quarrels between these two eminent men had brought upon the engineer she devoted herself unceasingly to his comfort during his life and took over the cause of his vindication when death had claimed him. Thus we read that Richard Bland Lee, judge of the Orphans' Court, demands all private papers to scrutinize the claims of any possible dependents, and that Mrs. Norah Carroll Digges, their custodian, yields on July 23 following L'Enfant's death, testifying that these documents cannot be deemed an asset. With the papers was given a painstaking inventory, in which each was described, whether map, outline of map, report, letter, diary or official document. With the papers placed in the hands of Judge Lee, Mrs. Digges presented this inventory, keeping one for her own use and having

in addition two extra copies against untoward events. On the first page of this inventory she had written that these papers are hers, to be held in trust and she submits them to Judge Lee to obey the law, but she expects that each separate paper shall be returned in perfect condition. On October 6, 1826, her signature is found at the bottom of this same sheet, acknowledging the receipt of the papers and in satisfactory state.

On December 15, 1919, the last custodian of the Digges family who held L'Enfant's papers passed away in his home, Dudlea, Chevy Chase, a suburb of Washington, D. C. He was James Dudley Morgan, M. D., grandson of the compassionate lady who had taken up the cause of the French patriot with so resolute a will. Dr. Morgan bequeathed this splendid collection to the Library of Congress and his widow, the daughter of A. S. Abell, founder of the Baltimore *Sun,* has presented her inventory. Included in this is the list prepared almost a century ago by Norah Carroll Digges. Not a paper is missing, not a letter, scrap, or note, or seemingly insignificant entry has been mislaid. It is a rare instance of a trust fulfilled, despite years of disappointment and futile endeavor. For the time has come when the interest of the nation at last rests on L'Enfant, when every detail surrounding his cruel fate is sought and the light of historical investigation is turned on every figure in this lamentable chapter of early days.

With the Library of Congress enriched by this last and most valuable addition of L'Enfant papers, the student of this era, may see revealed the intimate personal side of the genius who foresaw the future of the American nation even more vividly than its political founders. Hitherto L'Enfant has been studied through verbose official documents, or historical fables, and his character and his work have been appraised by critics who did not see the whole man and therefore could not fathom his motives. More than one-third of these documents are the original papers and the manuscript division will in due time, classify and arrange and then publish the correlated themes in a series of brochures, for the greater convenience of the reader. Doctor Morgan added carefully to the collection which came to him through his mother's will, and from a variety of sources he had obtained official documents either original or in duplicate. He gathered from many persons almost complete documentary evi-

dence of the conspiracy which terminated L'Enfant's connection with the Federal city. One of the most valuable private letters in the entire range of L'Enfant papers, presented in original form, is that addressed to his faithful friend, Moses Young, then United States Consul General at Madrid in which occurs that agonized protest against the disaster and dishonor which had overtaken him. It is dated in 1795 from Philadelphia and after describing the story termination of his services with the Government, he writes:

"I, at the onset of this unfortunate business, had fortune, friends and relatives who would have generously supplied my needs. They are no more—all have perished and with them, my friends and my fortune. I was not then in the habit of keeping tavern company. I kept a house, servants and horses."

The letter proceeds to examine the ring of intrigue which had formed about him and all official records prove that L'Enfant, though naturally exaggerating his grievances, was in the main correct in his placing of charges.

Another valuable portion of Dr. Morgan's gleamings is the series of letters, documents, receipts and bills which make the entire story of the insignia of the Order of the Cincinnati. With this is the original of the letters from Hamilton, Von Steuben, Lafayette, Rochambeau and all the illustrious men who were among the charter members of the military organization. In the biographical way, the Morgan papers are a rich vein which has not yet been scratched on the surface. M. Jusserand has drawn liberally on many of these in his work, *With Americans of Past and Present Days,* and the later edition called *Brothers in Arms.* Though he credits them merely to the L'Enfant papers, his source of information was the Morgan collection which has become the property of the American nation. Letters to L'Enfant from Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton and Monroe have appeared in all the publications which treat of these themes. The particular strength of Dr. Morgan's collection is that L'Enfant, with the orderly mind of the Latin, made copies of all his communications, so that in future the seeker after accurate knowledge will have both sides of the controversy within reach.

L'Enfant's story told in these documents is an impressive example of the ingratitude of republics and of the limitations of genius. The present-day reader has the advantage of seeing both

the era of realization, as well as the past founded on hope. L'Enfant stands majestically above all his critics and his only fault seems to have been that his vision was stupendous and his confidence unlimited. To every objection to the vast and expensive plan he demanded for the Federal city, he would violently declaim, "We must leave to posterity in this plan, the grand idea of the patriotic interest which inspired it." It was to be the supreme expression of his personal devotion to Washington as well as his tribute to the nation which he aided signally on the battlefield to secure its liberty, sovereignty and independence. It is amusing now to read L'Enfant's contemptuous rejoinder to Jefferson, when the latter pontifically declared the ground plan of Babylon the finest the world has ever known: "A checkerboard like Philadelphia?" The most fervent follower of the Sage of Monticello will not maintain the wisdom of this suggestion, nor pause to argue the excellence of the engineer's judgment. Later the same friction is apparent when Jefferson dismisses as impossible that houses should be forcibly kept so many feet from a given point on the public street.

These suggestions lend a peculiar pathos to a letter hitherto unpublished, addressed by L'Enfant to his friend and patron, and which has a suggestion of the ancient cry of the victim, "Caesar, we who are about to die salute you." It bears date of February 27, 1792, from Philadelphia:

"Sir:—Having in my last letter to Mr. Jefferson so fully explained the reasons which urge me to decline all concern in the Federal city, under the present system, and as these reasons were the result of serious impartial consideration upon so important a subject I wish it understood that it is still my resolution.

"In the letter of Mr. Jefferson to me in answer, I perceive that all my services are at an end. Seeing things are so, let me now earnestly request you to believe, it is with regret the most sincere, I see the termination of all pursuits in which I was so lately engaged and that every view throughout was incited by the warmest wishes for the advancement of your favorite object, and that all my abilities were invited to hasten its progress.

"From a full conviction of the impossibility to effect the intended establishment while struggling through the various difficulties that continually occur, and which would as certainly prove unsurmountable too late to remedy all their evil con-

sequences. At the same time I fear that by my continuance you might indulge a fallacious hope by which in the end you must have been deceived, and under these impressions do I renounce all concern in it.

"Permit me also to express in the most faithful manner that the same reasons which have driven me from the establishment will prevent any man of sagacity impressed by the same disinterested views by which in every stage of it I have been actuated, and who may be sufficiently well convinced of the importance of the undertaking, from engaging in a work which must defeat his most sanguine hope and baffle his every exertion. Should this business fall into the hands of one devoid of high impressions and thus impossible of being of real benefit to the public, however great his power may be, self-interest immediately becomes his only aim and deception and dishonor are the end.

"I have to be

"Your most obedient servant,

"Pierre Charles L'Enfant.

"To the President of the United States."

Reading the voluminous correspondence between Washington and his protégé, the yearning sorrow of this letter is profoundly affecting after all these years. We see the buoyant hope of L'Enfant as he promises his best to realize Washington's dream of the fairest city this earth has ever seen, of his valiant battle with the malign influence always working to defeat him. We see the eager flight alone in his skiff up and down the Potomac, brooding over his ideas, leaping ashore on Analostan Island, scaling the heights at Georgetown, where the noble spires of the oldest Catholic college in this country now throw their shadow on the water. We see him rounding the river into the Anacostia to the shores where the busy scenes of the navy yard are now laid and again tramping mile after mile, day after day, the entire area of the Ten Miles Square. And through all comes the assurance that Washington knew and appreciated this chivalrous fealty and that, though his stern nature would not permit admiration of artistic talent to outweigh official insubordination, had the austere patriot of Mount Vernon lived L'Enfant's fate would not have been so tragic.

But his day came, years after his dust had become absorbed

into the bosom of the kind mother, the day he had solemnly foretold when his work taken from him unjustly, confided into unworthy hands, would result in dishonor and defeat. Those charged with civic responsibility in Washington struggled against the disintergration of the ground plan and regarded the future with gloomy forebodings. Then came that commission of Fine Arts acting in concert with the Senate Committee which turned the destructive light of historical investigation on the flimsy arguments against L'Enfant's plan. A report made in January, 1902, signed by Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Charles F. McKim, and F. L. Olmstead, demanded the restoration of L'Enfant's concept in these ringing words:

"The original plan of Washington having withstood the test of a century has met our universal approval. The departure from that plan is to be regretted and, wherever possible, will be remedied." The result was the appointment of that body of public-spirited artists and architects known as the Commission of the City Beautiful which is gradually moving forward toward the realization of L'Enfant's dream and President Washington's proudest ambition. L'Enfant had a broader vision than his friend and patron, the founder of the great Republic. The French patriot in his lonely vigils on the river saw a nation not of sixteen States but embracing the continent. He saw the Capital not of five million people, but of five billion, and he planned a city which shall stand an immortal tribute to the man whose name it bears.

The report of the McKim commission in 1902 was the dawn of the glorious day of L'Enfant's recognition. His fame reached its apotheosis when at the instance of historians, artists, architects, scientists and scholars, Congress passed a joint resolution directing the removal of the remains of the great architect and engineer from the unmarked grave in Green Hill to Arlington Cemetery. Doctor Morgan, as president of the Columbia Historical Society, had devoted unceasing efforts to expedite this measure and in the final reading he obtained what he considered the most memorable service he was ever able to render the cause which he regarded as a sacred legacy from his people. This was that L'Enfant should be given a military funeral, commensurate with the immense value of his services to the cause of independence. He had drawn plans for camps and fortifications

as early as 1777, and it was because of the excellence of this labor that Washington personally commended his promotion to be major of engineers. He had spent the entire period of the conflict either on the battlefield or in prisons. Yet Congress had permitted him to become destitute because of extraneous troubles, not even giving him the customary pension. For a quarter of a century this man, who had made tremendous sacrifices for the country of his adoption, had haunted the legislative halls like a wraith, that could find no rest. This in the opinion of his champion demanded the most solemn reparation. Dr. Morgan, with the scholars who upheld his petition, asked that Congress should not only give a splendid funeral, but that the wronged and dishonored patriot should lie in state beneath the rotunda of the Capitol and receive the public homage of the people.

L'Enfant lies in our national Valhalla, and he was committed the second time to earth with stately rites on April 28, 1909. The venerable Cardinal of Baltimore presided and the President of the United States, William Howard Taft, delivered a stirring address. M. Jusserand spoke in behalf of France and Elihu Root painted the debt which the nation owed this long-neglected man. Two years later a simple memorial was set in place over the tomb and again the nation wept at the shrine and offered its long-belated tribute.

James Dudley Morgan, L'Enfant's champion, began his crusade in his early manhood. After having studied for several years in Paris, he had gradually become convinced of the grandeur of L'Enfant's intention. Visits to the old Versailles court city became a routine of holidays and a search for biographical matter about the unfortunate guest at Chillum Castle Manor, one of the keenest delights of his leisure hours. Returning to this country, Dr. Morgan took up the practice of his profession and though he gained prominence in a brief space, he never relinquished his historical studies, nor his desire to vindicate the memory of the engineer. When the Columbia Historical Society was formed in the early nineties, Dr. Morgan entered with the avowed intention of keeping the wrongs of L'Enfant in the foreground, and from the first conferences, he is recorded in connection with addresses on the ingratitude of the Republic toward one of the most illustrious of its benefactors. Not a written line which attacked wrongfully the memory of the patriot escaped the scathing pen of this ardent young apostle. He can be found

in the second volume of the Columbia Historical Records exhibiting letters, papers and maps, in proof of his contentions. This was a good ten years in advance of the McKim report. He pays heed to the calumnies, notably that favorite one that L'Enfant's extravagance in building a mansion for Robert Morris in Philadelphia had been a main reason for the financier's final collapse. Later historians have shown from Morris' own testimony that L'Enfant never received a cent in payment on this house, but had loaned money to the banker at a time when his own finances were running low. But there are repeated instances of systematic traducing of this good man's character. Careless he was even to the point of unfairness to himself and to those whose interests he was presumed to safeguard, all of which M. Jusserand clearly proves, but it all grew out of the splendor of his artistic ideals and the utter inability to do anything which was not done grandly.

Of the Digges' family, L'Enfant's benefactors, few of the name are left in the portion of the country wherein their fame is written. They came from Kent and were an old Catholic line historically high sheriffs of that county as far back as the time of Richard the Lion Hearted. A gallant knight, who had defended the Holy Land against the Turk, John de Digges, was a generous friend to the Franciscans in Canterbury in 1465. Another John de Digges was high sheriff in the fourth year of the fourth Edward. Sir Dudley Digges was Master of Rolls under Charles II and author of the notable book *The Compleat Ambassador*. His son, Sir Edward Digges, was appointed royal governor of Virginia and served from 1756-63. His tomb may be seen in the old burial ground of his Manor at Bellefield. William Digges, son of Edward, lord of Warburton Manor, opposite Mount Vernon, defended St. Mary's City when that Catholic capital of the Calvert government was besieged and forced to surrender by the Protestant army under Coode. Thomas Atwood Digges of Warburton, intimate friend of Washington and his frequent guest, was the first benefactor of L'Enfant and offered him an asylum, which he accepted from 1815 until the death of Mr. Digges in 1821. The younger brother of Mr. Digges, William Dudley, who resided with his family at Green Hill, then took over his brother's obligations and the cordial, manly letter of invitation is among the treasures which have become the property of the Library of Congress in this Morgan collection.

THE MISSION TO LIBERIA

Diary of the Rev. John Kelly

Through the kindness of Mr. Thomas Hughes Kelly we are able to give in this issue of Records and Studies a transcript of the Diary kept by his uncle, the Rev. John Kelly, during the two years Father Kelly spent in Liberia, Africa, as a missionary with the Rev. Dr. Edward Barron. This mission was undertaken by the American hierarchy in 1840 at the request of the Propaganda. Bishop Dubois of New York and Bishop Kenrick of Philadelphia called for volunteers to undertake the re-establishment of the Jesuit mission founded in 1604 by Father Bareira, S. J., and the Rev. Dr. Edward Barron, pastor of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, and the Rev. John Kelly, pastor of St. John's Albany, New York, at once offered themselves. With Dennis Pindar, a lay catechist of Baltimore, Maryland, they sailed for Cape Mesurado, on December 21, 1841, reaching Sierra Leone early in 1842. The work of the missions was taken up, as indicated by the Diary, with zeal, but it soon became evident that more help was needed. The following year Dr. Barron went to Rome and after making his report of conditions in Liberia the Pope raised the country to the rank of the Vicariate Apostolic of the Two Guineas with Dr. Barron in charge as titular Bishop of Constantine. He returned then to Liberia with a band of priests, members of the Society of the Sacred Heart, five of whom died on the mission. Dennis Pindar also died of fever, January 1, 1844, and the Bishop and Father Kelly were forced by their shattered health to give up and return to the United States in 1845. Father John B. Bessieur succeeded the Bishop in charge of the mission with the Rev. John M. Maurice, who later became pastor at Greece, New York. The Liberia Mission after a time was taken over by the Fathers of the Holy Ghost and since 1906 has been under the care of the Irish Province of the priests of the Society of African Mission, whose headquarters is at Lyons, France.

Bishop Barron was born in 1801, at Waterford, Ireland, and made his ecclesiastical studies in Rome. After a brief service in his native land he volunteered for the American mission and became affiliated with the diocese of Philadelphia where Bishop

Kenrick appointed him his vicar-general, head of St. Charles' Seminary and pastor of St. Mary's Church. Following his return from Africa he declined all further episcopal honors and died September 12, 1854, a martyr to his charitable zeal while ministering to the victims of a yellow fever epidemic at Savannah, Georgia.

The Rev. John Kelly was the brother of Eugene Kelly, long prominent as a New York banker and philanthropist. He was born in Trillick County, Tyrone, Ireland, March 27, 1802, and came to the United States in 1825. The following year he entered Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburgh, to continue the ecclesiastical course begun in his native land. In 1828 he went to the Jesuit novitiate at Frederick, but remained only a short time and then returned to Mount St. Mary's where he finished his studies and was ordained priest by Bishop Dubois, September 14, 1833. He ministered first at St. Patrick's, New York, and was then sent to the up-state missions. He said the first Mass at Saratoga in 1834, and was pastor at Albany from 1837. When he came back from Africa he was made pastor of St. Peter's, Jersey City, November 12, 1844, and served there with unflagging zeal until his death, April 28, 1866. A sympathetic memoir of his career, by the Right Rev. Mgr. Henry A, Brann, will be found in Records and Studies, November, 1907, Vol. V, Part II, pp. 348-353; see also Vol. VIII, pp. 116-128; and Flynn, *The Catholic Church in New Jersey,* pp. 97-99.

The Diary is written in a strong, legible hand in a small leather bound note book. On the cover is the inscription: "1842 Memoranda Cape Palmas," and, as a title page, inside: "Journal of J. Kelly, Cath. Mis. SS. Peter & Paul, Cape Palmas, W. Africa, 1842. Ad Majoram Dei Gloriam." The ink is still distinct and clear and the entries are set down in the following orderly sequence.

JOURNAL OF J. KELLY

Catholic Mission, S.S. Peter and Paul, Cape Palmas, W. Africa, 1842
Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam

Notes

1833. Mission of Upper Guinea in which Liberia is comprised was discussed and I think the subject of its creation or establish-

ment reviewed in 2nd Synod of Baltimore. It was afterwards erected and assigned by ? to the Jesuits.

1841. Nothing done until when letters were sent by the Sacred Congregation to the Rt. Rev. Francis P. Kenrick of Philadelphia, U. S., and the Rt. Rev. John Hughes of New York to procure each a clergyman to proceed to Liberia to provide for the spiritual wants of the Catholics in the colonies of Liberia, who had emigrated thither, having been emancipated from slavery.

The said Bishops sent in December, 1841, the Rev. Edward W. Barron, V. G., of Philadelphia, and Rev. John Kelly, Pastor of St. John's Church, Albany, New York. These priests, together with Dionysius Pindar, a pious young layman, sailed from Baltimore on the 21st of December and arrived at Cape Palmas on the 31st of January, 1842. First Mass by Dr. B. was said in the home office of Dr. Ford M'Gill on the 1st of February and next morning both missionaries said Mass in a private room in the house of the Lieutenant Governor, Geo. R. M'Gill, feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin.

1842. Though the missionaries had been in Monrovia where their ship stayed two days, viz. 26th and 27th of January, they did not sleep or have nor say Mass, having no opportunity and not finding a single Catholic. After leaving they learned that one Captain Cannot, an Italian Catholic, was residing in Monrovia. In that small town, though twenty years after its being founded, there is not one school for the pagan natives and the missionaries saw only a hut thatched and base daubed with clay, which had been erected by the Protestants as a church for the pagans. But now it is closed. Two newspapers are published in Monrovia—the "Liberia Herald" 11th volume, i. e., 11th year—and "The African Luminary" (? !) 4th year and 4th volume. A serious difficulty is existing between the Government and Protestant missions at Monrovia, the latter having refused to pay duties on their imported merchandise and goods. Missionary property has been seized. Dr. Seys, the Methodist head clergyman, has left or been recalled; is now in Washington, D. C.

February 6. Dom. Quinquag. Here Government has P. Missionaries. Threaten to leave, not allowed to settle. First public service and Mass in stone school-house. Governor Rusworm and Governor Roberts (Monrovia) with a number of Protestant colonists and pagan natives together with a dozen of Catholics attended. Number of Catholics now in this colony said to be

about twenty or twelve souls. Part had been attending Protestant meetings but now return to their church.

February 9.[1] Gospel announced to Grebo tribe. February 7, 8 and 9, Retreat for the Catholics ended Ash Wednesday. At 4 P. M. met "King Freeman" and his *head men,* in a *"Palaver"* at the pagan *Greegree house* (Oracle) in centre of King's town on summit of the high land of the Cape (N. E. end). This town numbers about 1,500 souls, is called in the Grebo Bimlêh. Pagans from town in the hollow below the height, one quarter of a mile N. E. of it, called Ôrooh as well as from the town a pistol shot N. N. E. on riverside called Boolêh and from Blewrôh a quarter of a mile N. N. E. of it attended. Governor Rusworm (Mulatto and Lieutenant Governor) with other civilized officers of this colony were present.

The missionaries Dr. B. and Rev. J. K. in stole and surplice entered this town preceded by one carrying the cross—all reciting the Litany of the Saints. Rev. Dr. B. announced through an interpreter the object of the mission—its regularity—authorized by the representative of Christ the head of the Christian World. The King and his people heard with attention, yet many, as is their custom when hearing anything strange or hard to credit, laughed at the doctrine of the Trinity and the eternal punishment of the unbeliever and unbaptized.

At the close of Dr. B., the customary *Dash* presents were given. To the King a rich silk robe and turban (that he ever got) and beside him were left tobacco and cloth (cotton) garments for people who wear only an apron or small piece tied on groins. Women have a *Karass* or piece of cloth hanging at the back.

Polygamy sanctioned by Protestants.—The interpreter for the Catholic missionaries was William Davis, the only capable interpreter. Davis worked on ships and often studied on Rev. J. L. Wilson (Presbyterian) Superintendent and General Agent of the Presbyterian Missions (4 or 5 Stations) in Liberia for seven years past. Mr. Wilson baptized Davis while having and living with four "wives"—Davis was Mr. Wilson's instructor in Grebo.

A little while before the Catholic missionaries arrived Rev.

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[1]Not allowed to sell goods to colonists, but not prohibited to sell or barter with the natives who now work for ¼ dollars worth.
The law made by Col. Society at Washington.

Wilson excommunicated Davis for taking a fifth wife. He was a communicant while he had the four women!

Well may such men abuse *the Pope* who never allowed such an "Indulgence" even to emperors. Kings have in vain sought it by menaces and by gold.

February 13. First Sunday kept by Grebo tribe. *One Mass* in schoolhouse at 10.30 A. M. Numbers of natives, especially boys, attended. Rev. J. Kelly, through an interpreter, addressed them briefly after Mass on the eternity, omnipotence and goodness of *the true God* and necessity of a belief of *"His Word."* At 4 o'clock P. M. the missionaries went by appointment to the "Big Town" on S. E. Summit of the Cape or Promontory. The King and his chiefs reviewed them at the clear space before the Greegree house as before. Dr. B. addressed them on the necessity of a belief of *God's Word.* End of man's creation, the damnation of the unbeliever and unbaptized (Davis interpreting). Rev. J. K. closed with a brief exposition of the blessings of the gospel and with assurances to the King and his people of their friendship and future efforts for their common benefit.

King replied; "We live here long time. Ten years? (seven years) ago white man come—Dr. Hall[1] come—Mr. Wilson[2] come, Dr. Savage[3] come, plenty missionaries come. No man stay Sunday—all man work in the bush. This time you come, all man stay—no man work in the bush. King glad glad—all men glad to hear you speak God's word. Countryman not know book, countryman not know bible, not know God's word. Glad you hear you and you make all men's heart glad. You sit down speak God's word."

N. B. What King meant was that until this day the Grebo people never paid any regard to Sunday notwithstanding that other missionaries had spoken to them. By appointment the Catholic missionaries are to meet King, etc., for "God Palaver" same place next Sunday.

February 15. Crowds on street and road of Ôrooh and yelling. It was found to be "Natives" running about most noisy, some angry, some smaller ones enjoying it as play—to administer

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[1]Dr. Hall, of Baltimore, first agent sent to found this colony.
[2]Rev. John L. W. General ,agent and missionary of A. B. C. for foreign missions.
[3]Dr. S. Savage, M. D., and Rev. Mr. Minor, of the Episcopal Church.

"Saucy Wood" or poison to a woman, as usual, accused by a doctor of being a witch. Liverpool, a shrewd headman and who worked on ships and was in England, on being asked by J. K. whether he believed that by this process a bad man or woman (witch) who killed by witchcraft could be truly discovered, affirmed he knew it to be true way to find. "Saucy Wood kill no man but him have bad stomach, i. e., bad heart." If he be good he *puke it*. Liverpool's dread of witches, etc., was extreme. He was intelligent for a pagan savage. And when K. ridiculed the aforesaid test by asking him if Saucy Wood had eyes—if it was not a piece of drug—a mere stick, Liverpool compared the test promptly to Englishman's *way*. He said he saw it in Liverpool. "Man kissed book—he died then for he was bad man."

P. M. Great noise in Ôrooh. It was crowds of women going about rejoicing for the accused having puked the Saucy Wood. They hoot the accuser, the doctor, who has to hide. It is now only at night he dare walk out.

February 16. Another mob and great noise—it is a play—old men leaders dressed in mats, some in sacks, some with baskets for hats, odd clubs, etc., carried, majority children and boys—an old man led by wringing plays an iron box for bell.

February 17. A similar play. Numerously attended.

February 18. A play—mimic of war, etc., by women and children. They seem to enjoy it greatly.

Baptism secretly attempted.—Numbers of head men—young men and boys—daily visit the missionaries, the latter exhibited pictures of the most important events and facts of the gospel. They found of the sisters who lived with the Protestant missionaries and were attending their schools not one baptized. Some were 15 and 16 years of age. They said they could not be baptized until they got a *new heart,* at which they always laughed. We were informed of four or five persons baptized and married by the Protestant missionaries but these persons were in their employ and *entirely dependent* or supported by the missionaries.

To-day, 15th of February, the 15th since landing. Dr. Barron took to his bed, a light and first attack of the fever (acclimating). He had no chill.

J. K. rode Governor Rusworm's horse to Mt. Vaughan accompanied by the Governor who wished to draw his attention to an elevation a quarter of a mile south of the Episcopal Station.

February 18. This morning Dr. B. had little fever but was very weak and confined to bed.

Governor Rusworm visited Dr. B. No Protestant missionaries visited us. To-day King Freeman and eight head men visited. We gave him eight gowns—Dash for head men. He grumbled—named five men more. We promised them something. King being asked about having "God Palaver" at his town, King gave no answer—went off grumbling. His Br. (½) Davis the interpreter laughed—his headmen smiled. King and attendants taking the eight gowns left.

February 19. Dr. B. slept little—fever, morning. Was able to sit up while feet bath. We engaged Davis Wm. (Grebo-Momâh) as teacher of Grebo he to attend daily p 9 to 12 A. M. or if agreed upon in P. M. and he also to attend Palaver to interpret. We engage to pay D. (Davis-"Mah") at the rate of $12 per month in specie.

February 20. Dr. B., fever not so high—took nourishment and slept. At ten A. M. Mass, etc., in schoolhouse. Governor K. attended. At 4 P. M. Prayer and Instruction in Cape town (Kings). Instruction was chiefly an explanation of four large pictures. 1. Christ raising the daughter of Jairus. 2. The widow's son. 3. The Blessed Virgin standing on top of Globe—serpent under her foot. 4. The Crucifixion. The N. Testament held in hand by Rev. J. Kelly whilst explaining. The attention of the savage Grebos was extraordinary. At the first, they laughed from incredulity. At four, they were especially struck when it was affirmed emphatically that without Jesus Christ and by Him alone man obtained power over and could escape the devil. From their dread of witchman — and woman and their idolatry of the devil, the doctrine of Redemption and of Providence seemed to arrest their most earnest attention. The power over demons left to the church was a subject of doubt and amazement. "If devil live in a man, bring him (Sd. miss. 7) and we in the name of Jesus, will put devil out—away from man."

"God's day" again kept.—"Balla" head war man was our interpreter to-day. Davis and King F. both absent—probably because bribed by Mr. Wilson whose spies we noticed at the entrance of both towns and also at the commencement of our instruction. Tho few went to their farms, the day partially kept and tho the bell was wrung thru Bimlêh, the number present was not large.

Mr. Wilson craftily met the people at the Greegree House (our place) a little before we came, few attended his address. But Davis stated Mr. Wilson did speak there to Natives[1] formerly. The principal head men—a crowd of women and boys were present. The chiefs agreed to a meeting next "God's day."

February 21. To-day Dr. Barron very ill—fever affecting the head. King F. and two head men called. King said he had a fever yesterday. Complained of getting little for his land sold American men. Davis assented to our building a schoolhouse within his town. Davis asked us if we intended to school natives and remarked Mr. Wilson had taught five years. All were surprised to hear that.

Abysinia (their countrymen) were same as us Catholics (Katolo). When asked why Mr. Wilson feared their hearing us, they said they knew not. But they admitted that a head in church was as necessary as a *father* and as a King. For knowing the *"True Word"* "True Priests" Davis was referred to Mark, XVI. "True (Sd. H) signs be for men to know."

February 22.[2] Dr. Barron had great fever today. Night dangerous. Dr. M. stayed.

February 23. Dr. Fletcher stayed all day. Mercury ointment applied to groin and arm pit.

February 24. Fever down 25, continues better—slight diarrhea—took nourishment better than usual—throughout some arrow root.

February 25. Good appetite. Still confined to bed.

February 24. J. Kelly petitioned Governor Rusworm for ground for church and mission house—station—said the four lots offered near centre of upper town too small. The hill below the Cape elevation and nearly east of it and just between two native villages. Davis, our interpreter, owns more than half of it and offers us his title for fifty dollars. We propose in event of a grant of said hill to erect thereon a stone church and which would supersede the proposed (By Como re Patterson) fort, as to be an

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[1]But not for some time before our arrival.

[2]Anniversary of the colonial settlement. Canons fired—two companies of volunteers marched—oration and prayers on the occasion in the old Methodist chapel on Cape just after the manner of such celebrations in the United States. Always begin with prayers by a layman or one of their employed preachers. Some two or three Catholics in procession, etc., were present.

asylum in case of savage hostilities. None have yet occurred in eight years of colon's existence.

February 26, Saturday. Dr. B. sat up. Took no medicine except elix. vit. to arrest heavy sweats.

February 27, Sunday. One colored man (the first) colonist went to Communion at 10 o'clock Mass. (This hour seems to be too late for priest and people). Some natives, boys and men attended.

February 28. J. Kelly and Governor Rusworm met mob and begged off two men, Woh and Sacy Wood, who were to be killed for witching a chief who died lately.

Natives keep Sunday.—At 4 o'clock P. M. by appointment preached at King Freeman's town—a great crowd and many *mothers* were present—looked with intense interest on the large colored pictures exhibited. The Crucifixion and its explanation arrested their notice especially. King was present. Mr. Wilson, Davis says, heard us but was concealed. Himeo a chief probably thru Mr. W. prompting—interrupted the priest to say: "We should tire ourselves, he liked to hear God's word—but he would rather *have Book* and by and by we should teach all youngsters book." The priest said: "Here is *the book* but this book could not speak—this book could not save man from the devils. Many men have this book and still are bad men. We love the book and by and by hoped they would read it, and do what *it directs us to teach them.* Go teach, etc."

February 27. We were just doing what *the Book* says: "Go teach, etc. We would have school short time but God did not wish us to wait for schools, etc. Captain of a ship come—all men dying for food. He has food plenty—should he wait to give it till men read books, etc.?"

Appointed next Sunday same hour to meet and commended natives for keeping God's day. A few individuals went to the country—but none carried baskets. Some men took bill hooks *under their arms* as it were to get palm wine.

The Colonists—Protestants wonder at the subserviency (in regard to the Sabbath) to the doctrine and wishes of the Catholic missionaries.

Dr. Barron came downstairs and sat up some time.

February 28. Dr. Barron took no medicine.

March 1. Dr. Barron came across the street to our rented small house and stayed an hour.

Received the Governor's reply that the Hill could not be given being reserved from 1st est. for public uses. But he allows twenty feet more on Av. and privilege of way to beach unobstructed and of building thereon for both.

March 2. This day at 7 o'clock P. M. Dennis had violent headache. Mr. K. gave him physic at bed time, i. e., 10 grains of calomel and ten of jalap. Not operating at daylight gave him spoonful of castor oil.

March 3. Dennis had burning fever—*no chill at any time.* When perspiration came, quinine pills every two hours. Night morphium.

March 4. Great fever—it fell—perspiration came free—pills continued—at night morphium a half a grain and had to be repeated three hours after at 11 and followed by a half a grain of opium.

March 5. Perspiration less—pills tho continued, stomach sore —great and painful tension thereof. J. K. had then discontinued the pills—gave a spoonful of castor oil and one and a half by enema. D. was greatly relieved. Dr. after directed a tablespoonful of brandy diluted to be given every two hours. One quinine pill instead of two, hourly as before. Morphium (or a spoonful of tinc. bark) at bedtime a half a grain, three hours after had to repeat—it failed. Better than one half grain opium gave him in a pill, he slept after, well.

March 6. Copious perspiration. One pill hourly and quinine and a spoonful of brandy every two hours.

March 7, Sunday. Dr. Barron said Mass to-day. First after sickness. In his room in M'Gill's.

Mass in S.Ho. at ten. Two Catholics only present—Sauci and Neil. Mass to be in future at 9 A. M.

At 4 P. M. Rev. J. K. accompanied by Sauci and a crowd of native boys and young men went to King Freeman's town. A large assembly present—preached from 11 Thes. Ch. I. v. 7-8-9. The King attended and some of the rest were greatly pleased with the pictures, especially the beautiful one of the Blessed Virgin which had been by special request of several natives taken to exhibit. At the brief statement of the virginal and miraculous conception of J. C. our Lord several natives laughed especially

at the Grebo idiom—she became a Mother *tho she saw not man.* The mention of her power over devils again excited an intense interest.

Sunday still kept.—We saw no farming implements taken out by the few who went to the country. Noticed a great deal of washing themselves and some groups playing checkers and walking about better dressed.

March 8. Dennis sat up—twice—took one pill every two hours.

March 9. Entirely up. Dr. came morning. Ordered no medicine.

March 10. He served Dr. B's Mass. On the 8th at sundown J. K. and Davis visited King Freeman. He sat barefoot and as usual only his blue cotton wrapped about abdomen and groins. He had four head men sitting around him. He received K. cheerfully who told him the object of his request of a spot of ground in centre of his town for a school. He consented but demurred at the price offered, $10. It's next the Greegree or Devil's House and highest spot on the Cape; it is 60 ft. by 22 on the rock.

March 11. J. K. somewhat sick—took an emetic—ipecac ten grains. J. K. sat up in bed. Dr had prescribed three grains of calomel every four hours combined with one sixth of a grain of morphium. Gums sore a little; this was morning of the 12th. On night before at 10 comm'd them—took enema 1 oz. 6 oil 4 o'clock P. M. At night severe headache and fever—1 teaspoon of nitre (sweet spir.) every half hour and narcotic powder one sixth of a grain every two hours. Did not sleep—watch not kept.

March 12, Saturday. Fever P. M. Two spoonsful of wine alternated by one of brandy every hour and equal quantity of water. Sp. nitre every half hour.

March 13, Sunday. To-day also abed. P. M. fever—directions same as last night—arrow root—fruit—tea—sp. nitre. Dr. B. sat up till 11 Den. mor.

Sunday not observed by natives.—Dr. B. said Mass at 9 A. M. Had four colonists present. Natives to-day went out of their villages here as usual to the rice farms. An aged head man called in to us and said he would not, but would go and hear

God's word. There is a difference of opinion about it. Some are still in favor of "God's Day" being honored.

At night J. K. suffered extremely from fever. The calomel had acted freely on the bowels. Dr. B. sat up to 11, Dennis till morning after. K. got broth, wine and water every two hours alternated by one teaspoonful of brandy every second hour and teaspoonful of sp. nitre every half hour in a half wine glass of water. K. slept only one hour before morning. Had morphium every second hour—took three powders, one-sixth of a grain each.

March 14. Morning Dr. directed, viz.: Every hour two pills of quinine, five grains each and one tablespoon of brandy. Arrow root as often as desired. Chicken soup with toast at 11 o'clock. Arrow root or soup at 3 P. M. Brandy every two hours. Port wine every second hour, two spoonsful.

March 15, Tuesday. Directions: pills as yesterday. One tablespoon of tinct. of bark every two hours and port wine when desired. To have soup three times thru the day with either rice, toast or other farinaceous food. *Pills and bark to be discontinued on accession of fever.*

Night—directions, viz.: One powder of morphium every two hours till sleep comes. Slept at 11.

March 16, Wednesday. Great buzzing in the ears indicating the due effect of the quinine; one-third of a grain of opium in pill at 10, night. Slept after immediately.

March 17. *St. Patrick's.* All up—two Masses—tho Dr. B. had slight fever. Walked P. M. one hour. J. K. took five grains of quinine in water.

March 20, Palm Sunday. First Blessing of Co. Products. Mass at nine in school house. *Palms blessed* the first time in the *Cape of Palms!*

March 24. Rev. Dr. B. said the Mass.

March 25. No service—inconveniences.

March 27. Easter—two Masses. P. M., J. K. attended Native town. After Mass D. Pindar fever and headache—fever 8 days.

March 30. J. K. took second attack of fever (lasted 5 days only). He and D. Pindar in one small room.

April 3, Sunday. Two sick. Rev. Dr. B. said Mass but was weak. This the only Sunday since landing that we had not been to preach to natives in Big town.

April 8. Rev. Dr. Barron sailed for the U. S. on his way

to Europe—Weak in health but strong in zeal for Glory of God and this mission. Intends to procure religious men and Priests in the U. S. and quasi monks in Ireland to aid in the Native school and in teaching and instructing in mechanical arts. Hitherto this mission depended chiefly on Dr. B. private property except the collection in Diocese of Philadelphia and that in New York City, Albany and Brooklyn. Now Dr. B. hopes to engage the aid of the Lyons As. Prop. Faith.

April 10, Sunday. Mass at nine A. M. Addressed natives at 4 P. M. in Big town as usual. An American young sailor from Boston present—neither uncovered nor knelt whenever the savages obeyed the call to kneel to adore the God of H. and Earth, at the close! Example of Christians!

April 12. Three head men of Little town on Beach S. of our building ground called complaining that Governor Rusworm had given us that site of house without asking them—"it was their land"—"it live in their heart what they say—their heart plenty of sorrow at this thing." "They love us too much, they have no palaver with us but want to tell us, etc."

Gave them a dash of 14 bars or $7 of tobacco, i. e., two heads for each family (6) and one extra or each of two principal families.

April 17, Friday. Left small rented house and came to board at Mr. Josuah Steward's—J. K. and Dennis to pay at the rate of $46 per month, including the rent of two rooms, with the board, washing, etc.

April 19, Sunday. Mass at 9 A. M. Only two children at Catechism after the service—*Barns.*

At 4 P. M. preached also to the natives as usual and elucidated by pictures. Evening Dennis had fever.

April 20. Evening—D. Pindar had slight fever.

Graway. First Evangelized.—April 21. Rev. J. K. and Wm. Davis (Grebo interpreter) went by request to Graway—King Wiah's boat and boys came before day to W. end of Lake. Before King's house his chiefs, etc., assembled. The large picture of the Crucifixion was elevated on a pole—the fall of man—its curse—its reparation and man's redemption for first time announced by a legitimate minister to this people. Much talk subsequently amongst the natives—especially of what Kobo, i. e., "What man say" "God made all"—"God *Almighty*"—Devil no

power but what God permits—"Man angers God by serving Devil"—Some said *"it be true word"*—others doubted—none positively defend—*Devil worship*—Rev. Wilson, Presbyterian and Rev. Dr. Savage, Episcopalian addressed them before. Dr. S. abandoned this station which he had merely intrusted to Mr. Appleby a single layman and schoolmaster—he had in the miserable looking school house between the W. or big village and small one E. on Beach. Natives told Rev. J. Kelly they knew not what caused Mr. Appleby's departure but that he said he was going home to America—"but they find" he go to Tabooé! Still they do not regard education and A's small Graway school like the others (now) are viewed by natives as merely a relief from feeding boys—and a prospect of their advantage to them by being afterwards employed on ships in preference to others who had not learned to speak English. At Mr. Appleby's school the Graway men told Rev. J. Kelly that about a dozen only attended—they were those he boarded and fed!!

Religion.—Natives care little about it; not much even about the forms and superstitions they themselves practice. After Rev. J. Kelly staying to please the King over night in his house and tho his majesty had received presents from him day before J. K. visited, he was all the time of the priest's stay apparently vexed that a present—dash—was not offered. His chiefs expressed their surprise and displeasure at the same. He killed a goat as a treat, but very significantly gave to understand that he would like soon to hear J. K. again, i. e., to see him come with a *dash*.

Native House.—Had great difficulty to read part of office—No candles used—With great trouble got a sort of wick fixed in plate or dish of P. oil. Davis and the boat head man and Rev. J. K. got King's house to themselves for the night—The boat man arose and opened the door, whether for bad purposes not sure. But it is certainly the safest way for the missionary to exclude, on such occasions, every boy except a trusty man taken with him.

April 22. D. Pindar up—23d up—Quinine discontinued. Took one spoonful of tinc. bark mor. fasting.

April 24, Sunday. Mass in stone school house, as usual. A few native boys—4 or 5 Catholics present. D. P. duties Sexton.

April 25. Rev. J. K. and D. P. measured and had piled 5,000 ft. of American lumber in which they had been cheated paying

for 400 ft. of no use—or nearly $20. Besides had found more than half what was received good, split, etc.

Resolved henceforth to trust neither Catholic nor Yankee. Our carpenter paid for buying, neglected the matter. The Boston captain took the advantage. Sickness even now prevented our inspection personally. $40 loss.

April 26. This morning Rev. J. K. soon after his bread and coffee had a slight chill. Went abed—took 15 grains of ipecac which was repeated one hour after acting then as good gentle emetic—had no bile—no extraneous or improper matter in stomach. The *cause* was imprudence by too much exercise and anxiety followed by copious and debilitating sweat and laying in night gown on bed the cool early part of night after and unexpectedly falling asleep before taking sufficient covering.

This was the immediate and exciting cause, but the change from a high latitude 42 or 50 degrees and the disturbance thereby occasioned in the regular and former state of the body, together with the injurious vapor from the neighboring marshes at night, and sometimes at morning, act for the destruction of the system, which evidently would be, in every instance and case, fatal if not prevented by the goodness of the infinitely wise Creator giving to nature so many blessings, and to man intelligence and when ill deserved even extraordinary protection and favor. The *vis vita* needs help—found in the valuable inestimable febrifuge quinine, bark, and proper food—cleanliness, etc.

J. K. drank camomile tea for emetic's oper. He took toast and tea P. M. and tea at night and had taken three teaspoonsful of sweet nitre at intervals of one hour.

April 27. J. K. not ill but skin dry, pulse higher than ordinary. Prescribed for by Dr. M'Gill (had eaten only a little gruel morning and after some hours one cup of sweet tea). P. M. 2 pills of blue mass (blue pill) each 10 grains at once to be followed early in the morning by one of do. if the former two had not acted. In the early part of the night smart headache and fever—was relieved by the constant changing of parts of a wet towel to the head.

Advised by the Dr. to drink warm tea—could not have it unless paying one dollar for—not the eligible nurses for one night and often leave the patient to suffer as happened to two of us already. Employed none. Christian Hospitals! O Divine Charity!

April 28. Dr. prescribed two grains of quinine in wine glass of water every hour and a half until 4 P. M. Had a slight obscure chill at 5.30 P. M. Took two doses in three hours of narcotic—"Sulphate of Morphium" yet slept none.

April 29. Continued quinine every two and half hours as before. Sat up but was weak. Read some and found it injurious —slept well. Quinine had made stomach sore—its tone and consequently appetite injured. But ponada, made by sour bread and sweetened after, proved a wholesome supper—the gruel not eaten at night was delicious to the stomach and restorative before day.

P. S. The quinine was taken to-day in port wine.

April 30. Rev. J. K. well, yet unable to apply, except to the recital of the divine office—not able to resume his Grebo study.

May 1, Sunday. Mass in the boarding house. One Colonist, old Mrs. Sansey, received Holy Communion.

P. M. Instruction at 4 at Greegree House Square. Natives laughed at J. Kelly's reading Prayers in Grebo. More women present to-day than last Sunday. Probably because it was promised that the "Proper Prayers" or what all men should say to Gnessan should be to-day explained.

Natives Thieves.—May 2. The painful intelligence from *Bereby* S. of Taboo confirmed of Captain E. Farewell's vessel being taken, himself and 4 colored sailors treacherously murdered—King Kraco and his tribe six months ago perpetrated a similar atrocity on the captain and crew of a Portuguese vessel. Captain F. was of Plymouth, Mass., U. S. We bought 7,000 ft. of timber recently from him. He took wine to us for the Altar from Captain Cannot 4 weeks ago and in our rooms was cautioned not to trust Kroomen—or *shore* natives by old Captain Britton of New York, who said he had been eighteen years on the coast and knew *them all* to be deceitful and thievish and particularly ferocious S. of this and near where captain (poor Captain F. was murdered so soon after! Captain Eban F., Br. of James D. Farewell of Boston, Mass., U. S.). Captain Farewell was decoyed on shore to see oil. Went in company of one of his Kroomen with some head men traders of Bereby. Returning to shore saw his vessel crowded—knew the men were taking his goods, observed that an attempt was to be made instantly on his life. Begged and entreated to take all and let him go with life. They tied his Krooman. Took himself, tied his

hands, sent women and boys to beat and stone him. When almost exhausted they carried him out in a canoe and cast him into the sea in which he struggled one hour and then sunk in death. Alas! We cannot offer the prayers of the Church for him, not being of the communion or household of the faith.

To-day Mrs. Walker, wife of the Presbyterian Missionary who (both) came here from New York two weeks after us, dead of fever and premature parturition.

Danger of scandal.—May 3. Framing of our building commenced. Found to-day that the two natives Davis employed had deceived us by not paying the men what we agreed to for their labor, carrying planks and beams from riverside. Men were led to blame us. We have resolved to commit nothing of *trust* to any Pagan that we can help.

"Tom Friman" (or as on English certificates of his) Freeman took three head or 15 leaves of tobacco to get us 2 Kroos of Malagatta pepper. We dashed him—six weeks he came—2 boys —tho warned not to make this his errand but wait an occasion. We found the Kroo—2 Galls dear enough.

May 4. Miss Cagswell recently (mid. March) arrived with Rev. Mr. Payne to join as an auxiliary of the Episcopalian Mission—died.

Four ladies died soon after arriving—Rev. Mr. White's—Rev. Dr. Savage's and the two just mentioned. The folly, even cruelty of such Missionsé

May 5. *Assension.* Mass in our private room. Thought it inexpedient to publish a Holy day which would not be kept.

Devil Graves—May 7. J. K. and D. Pindar and Mr. Steward with 2 Kroomen visited the Island of the Cape. It is the Cemetery of this Grebo tribe here. Had to obtain King's permission otherwise might have Palaver, being a great offense. It is not allowed to traverse the ground on which the bodies are usually left *unburried*—over some great ones a canoe is sometimes put, the body of a chief at times deposited in a coffin. It is customary to kill and sacrifice at Devil Rock this side a goat or bullock. All is eaten in circle of old men but the head and entrails which are carried to the island with the corpse and left in the Heap of such deposited at Bush on E. end of Island

Sacrifice for Dead.—Rev. J. K. witnessed several funerals and observed many particulars. They killed goats and bullocks and

in three instances witnessed by J. K. the entire animal was offered, e. g.: the head was put in the coffin or canoe—blood a little sprinkled on clothes and person of the corpse—two cups were laid at breast or near each arm. In the chest of deceased the choice parts of the victim, quarters, etc., were deposited alongside the corpse together with a dish of rice mixed with palm oil. The head, neck and also the feet were not covered because say they, "He go get up again." Others he "must look God."

Resurrection a shadow or its tradition.—The most vague notions and strange ideas prevail relative to the localities or states of the departed. From Fish town to Covally the Grebo look with respect and awe on the Island Cemetery of this Cape and most aged persons are hither taken for interment. "Leh Keh" (Island Islet) is a favorable and choice location, e. g.: Here and at Fish town. Because, say they, they must be all time with their own native people. Tribes think they will be ever together. "Saucy Wood" only damns and separates them forever.

Mr. Wilson Fled.—Middle of this month the Head of the A. B. C. F. Mission left for Goboon—leaving Grisweld and Walker.

June. On Monday, May 30, commenced to keep Catechism in Bodio's Square, in Big town, about 20 boys came. Promised a *dash* to first who learned the 10 Commandments.

Rev. J. Kelly read one Commandment. A native boy, *Nimma* —repeated—then each boy succeeded to the foot of circle. They applied ardently—the boy who answered what another or others failed was placed above him—*"Du ye"* excited emulation and the repetition of one Commandment so often from head to foot made the acquisition *by heart* easy.

June 5, Sunday. Only five old men came. The Catechism was called *Skoole* and being apparently tired—the unhappy Pagans now leave the "Hearing" to boys and children.

P. M. had Catechism on intended site of School House, i. e.: Highest part of the Rock W. of Greegree House. We find—this being the rainy season—great want of our School House and to be temporary Church. Girls don't come—indeed except at first curiosity and to see pictures. They nor the mothers never attended. Even in their ceremonies and "country plays" women we observe, assemble generally by themselves.

June 8. Asked Bodio the favor of keeping Skoole in his

Greegree House. He readily assented and engaged for *anything* we chose to give him, to keep order, etc. His is a sort of Town or Public Building—belongs to the Town—He lights fire before it every evening at sun down—keeps the people's Gree Grees in this their grand depository. It has in its centre a sort of Sanctuary wrought around except in front—with weeds—Particular gree grees deposited in centre—the most curious is of this form—about 10 pounds of copper said to pass for money to the N. of Monrovia in Bush country. Another Gree Gree and most conspicuous is a rod 3 ft. high of iron, surmounted by a black globe of about 8 inches diameter and seems to be made of various stuff —medicines—honey, etc. Feathers of the fowls frequently offered in sacrifice by Bodio are stuck on gree grees and upon the cones or reeds about. Blood is sprinkled here also.

June, 12, Sunday. One came to Mass. P. S. with whom difficulty about.

The Building—swamps filled with rain—could get no timbers found that his speculation would keep—Building a year on hand —to employ only those who traded with him. Wrote an agreement that he is to work for no other while materials are for him. We engaged yesterday natives to cut timber at Graway and Rocktown.

Protestant Missions.—June 17. Notices posted up for Parades — Quarterly—for review—courts—and against Missionaries "generally." These notices were posted on chapel or shop House next Governor Rusworm's W. of the Gun.

The first complaint was against a certain Missionary holding colored children who had been taken into colony nearly 2 years since and not registered according to law. It imputes their being held *as slaves* and calls for investigation affirming that *if* this be the case the individual is by the law guilty of a crime which is punishable by death—whether—*white* or *black* be guilty. The notice treats of insults frequently given to colonists by missionaries and their disposition generally to trample on the laws—it tells them—they should take insults and give none—and that it is only "men of God" by whom Africa is to be converted if ever it be but not by such Missionaries. N. B. Dr. Savage of the Episcopalian Mission is the one holding colored children. Three taken by Mr. Minor here eighteen months since then. Rev. Dr. S. thinks if registered they would be detained in the event of his

going to another station out of this colony. The children it is said and thought were sent to him by his American family to be free and brought up by himself. The refusal to register is owing we believe to an unsettled difficulty—viz.: whether *the families* of Missionaries who are not colonists are bound to do military duty, etc., or whether they are to be subject to the Government to which the Missionary himself belongs. It is decided by M. C. So. that colonists employed by missions—when said colonists are not ordained men, are bound to do mil. duties. This was a decision lately against Rev. J. L. Wilson of A. B. C. F. Missions Presbyterian—who refused to obey the Government orders before.

June 18. A second public notice to-day threatens Missionaries about insults—makes no exceptions—compares them to bulldog ferocity—bulldog never lets go till he takes out the flesh; it labors to stir up a mob if possible against all.

"A reply" also put up to-day "to *A Citizen"* blames the spirit and tendency of the first notice. Changes the design of calling a public meeting—and of urging to insubordination similar to that of last year when a citizen was set at large from the public jail in defiance of laws and Governor—by the Tubman towns people.[1] Still this article blames Missionaries and states that "a Citizen" has said some touching truths relative to them. (This reply was by Jones.)

The second notice speaks of fears of undermining the colored Ruler's hopes in God—Governor will always be a colored man—speaks of good management and the present happy (very untrue) condition of the colored Freeman in this colony.

The total uselessness of the Missionaries is affirmed because only two or three colonists get "silver dollars" sparingly and now they (Missionaries) keep nor intend to keep no School for children of colonists. We have thought this touched ourselves because we begin to have timbers delivered at Bodio's House centre of King Freemans town for the erection of a School for children of the natives.

June 19, Sunday. First public meeting to address the natives in Little town between "Big town" and our building. Exhibited the Cross and Crucifix also of B. V. Mary. Crowd of both sexes attended with respect.

[1] These are the majority—a Methodist clan or party.

Catechism or Teaching of Commandments and Lord's Prayer held in both towns.

Taught them daily—either in Gree Gree House or on Rock behind its site of our intended school. They sit on the logs got for the School—want of means—leaves it so.

June 20. Discovered that our carpenter and host—two nominal Catholics were most prominent in the above excitement! Yesterday not one individual came to Mass. S. and J. S. have no children. The mission has been at much loss, etc., already by them! A Protestant at Graway, J. D. Moore—colored citizen—teacher of Dr. S.'s native School lately reopened there — has proffered his services and is getting us rafters, joist and posts quickly, *gratis* we paying for the native labor.

June 28. Fifty pieces rafted to head of Lake, not one suitable! Natives measure fathoms and even feet by their arms! A few here get our scantling on small timbers neatly.

June 29. Left Steward's, came to our rented cabin. No servant but *Toh* "Wilson" of Little town 10 years ago. Speaks a little English. Proposed to dine at G. R. M'Gill's opposite. He wanted $6 specie per week for dinner only, we prefer to stay—D. P. makes coffee and tea. Toh cooks *copada* for bread.

J. K. a few days since had a smart chill which was followed by a headache, as usual, and fever. Took it morning about 11, went to bed, covered well—had bottles filled with hot water applied to feet and stomach—took a little brandy and water and black pepper. During the cold fit immediately after an emetic of ipecac 20 grains, stomach not being foul or bilious took no medicine at night but next morning five grains of quinine and some at 11 A. M. Took it once next day and 3d day the same. No return at all of chill. Thus the "Acclimating Fever" goes off quietly they say in most cases if properly treated.

J. K. went to Graway about timber—stopped at J. D. Moor's (Teacher of Epis. Prot. Mis. School there) which has been recently opened again. 12 boys are boarded and taught *occasionally* some English spelling, etc.

This thing would seem to be a burlesque on Missions or a shadowy attempt towards philanthropy. The native youth are afforded no inducements to learning—they are mostly in the same condition as the rest of their town and roam about without restraint. They are not taught the Lord's Prayer! They must

say "Amen" tho when the lay teacher ends his extemporary orison.

First ship came after two months, the St. Christopher, Captain Reeve of London—Charges extravagant.

July 2. Had a "Palaver" with Kroo of Graway and his boys. Tho first timber not fitting—they were insisting upon full payment. Davis aided their troublesomeness and spoke two hours—fatigued J. K. almost to sickness.

Taking pity on these natives whose toil was as great as if doing right. J. K. offered and they accepted 40 Bars or $20 of country money for the Lot timber delivered. Paid all tc them but 14 Copper Rods promised when ship arrived.

July 4. "Bill Gray" head man and great rogue came with a number of his boys to bully and make "Heavy Palaver" and insist right or wrong upon payment by the agreement. "Davis" again aided this and refused to admit the correctness of the carpenter's rule. When I tried it upon timber also and it agreed with my English tape measure Davis still insisted the timbers were all *country measure* and by implication made us cheats! In Grebo he harrangued them upon their wrongs and was excited doubly by his *rum* and his eloquence. No precaution hardly will evade these difficulties.

I rejected all the timbers—But gave them formal choice of 40 Bars for Lot—Gray took it upon giving him the Copper Rods which we had reserved for Lightning Rods.

Got the Canoo and paid first claimer whom we find had no claim. Toh of Graway claims the finding and the fee!

Great difficulty to get healthy food. The dry starchy good young Copada, natives hardly ever will sell to strangers—With fish, fowls, rice, etc., the same. We therefore found it necessary to employ a respectable native "Balla" to be procurator. He is to dine with us and to receive $5 per month as he may want it—specie or cloth, etc., He is a good instructor in the Grebo—was one of Rev. J. L. Wilson's tutors and interpreters!

Commenced to buy stick palingposts and sticks rails cost by Souci 20 Silver 280 by natives material and labor about 25 Frat or "country money" cloth Toma or in all not exceeding $10 Silver add to 20, five to Souci and 25 dollars specie to a colonist for what costs by natives only 10! No wonder we employ natives—and

hence the general dislike and almost hatred we experience from poor, lazy and untrustworthy colonists.

July 15. Captain Lanlin returned from L. Gaboon—Refused to answer my note asking if he would take our draft on Bishop Kenrick for goods we now wanted. He afterwards accepted the draft when given to our carpenter and charged 5 p. ct. dist. on it. necessity compelled us to this—our funds now in Africa not more than 180 dollars. Frame not yet raised—no credit (anywhere, no friends in Colony).

July 21. Wrote to Bishop Kenrick and to Dr. Barron—Waterford, soliciting to make our Mission known to respectable English and American merchants.

N. B. This is the coolest month—the mercury with all not indicating much change—ranging from 76 to 78 degrees—sometimes this falls to 73 degrees. Europeans may labor here with safety this month. It is the Grebo harvest for rice. The wind is steady throughout from S. chilling—foliage near sea on S. side or exposure is cut away and perishes. Little rain this year. A few showers only since the 29th of June—that month was a continual rain, almost.

A native planted "Grove Trees" in W. fence and along front —no root to them—cut a day previous—planted by merely digging a small hole with Bill hook for end of trees tops off and about 567 ft. long—day dry, no rain except one or two showers since two weeks.

August. None we think here fit for climate. Stone cannot be healthy—too damp. Store (Agents) and one built by a former Vice Agent—Thompson the only stone houses both occupied as stores the latter by Dr. Savage of Episcopal Mission Stores. Dr. S. attempted to build a house of sun dried brick two years since his hands were inexperienced—the material not sufficient, building before its erection was completed, fell—work was abondoned. Houses are mostly of split slabs of wood—frames of slender material—no skilful mechanics—people too poor. Agents and Government too indifferent—much suffering—sickness and premature death might be prevented by proper buildings. Clay if properly wrought would doubtless be the best.

Five years is usually the last of a com. dwelling—often from the destruction of the Termites, it is not for living in. The natives defend their cabins which by the by are superior to most

of the Colonists, by daubing them with cow dung. Ammonia and sea water are destructive to the insect. Coal tar is also.

Sills of houses and buts of posts and fence paling if not chared should be swabbed or well coated with tar. Sills of our Mission House have been tarred and bedded in strong lime or on plank do. Smeer of coal tar renders it inadmissible upon any part of the interior of a building.

August 3. Rev. J. K. somewhat unwell, great debility, skin yellow—took calomel, 10 grains and do of jalap.

August 5. He took rhubarb afterwards—Bark, etc.

August 8. Well. Wrote to Rev. Dr. Yomens—Liverpool by Captain Merrit (it was 15")

August 11. Went out to rice farms with D. Pindar.

August 12. D. Pindar had chill and fever. Got on emetic slept well.

August 13. Quinine.—P. M. an obscure or slight chill 40 drops of laudanum in glass of warm wine and water—great relief —slept after—fever very slight—perspired freely.

August 14. Sat up, served Mass same room.

August 15. Sat up, served Mass same room.

No publication of "Holy Day"—one Colonist only, same as last Sunday.

August 16. Commenced digging a well. Yesterday Captain Merritt made Prisoner of Government. Native head man— "Yellow Will" kept two others. Y. W. had sold some counterfeit or Died Red Wood for Com wood. Captain sent one ashore to bring news. Natives went to friends even to Graway. Paid 16 goats and sheep, two bullocks and 20 fowls for his Y. W. release. Captain M. took off good and counterfeit wood—King's people said that they thought Captain M. a Brissel (Bristol) not. N. B. Governor R. at table on 22nd before Captain C. and Dr. Moffat said—Yellow did not fraud. Wood seemed "R" being new.

Native Punishment. — An Englishman (they fear English greatly). This was a Providential blow—Natives very bold after the robbery of the Presbyterian Mission Store. No effort made by the King to get the stolen goods. Rev. Mr. Frisweld told him at the Palaver two weeks ago that he heard King had part of the cloths and head men the rest. King said "you then mean I be thief, I have no more to say." They insisted to get names of

informer or alleged four informers—Mr. G. said he knew if he gave the money they should fly or natives would kill them. He could give the names to the commander of the American man-of-war when it comes.

Bible, its influence on Preachers.—Major Woods (blacksmith) called at a native's. Davis said "Why did not Mr. G. apply to Governor." Mr. W. thought Governor could have interfered with the goods. Mr. Grisweld remarked—President of U. S. was his Governor not Mr. Rusworm—This was owing of course to the aversion between the Presbyterian Mission and the authorities here. Still certainly Governor Rusworm had the first right to adjust difficulties and to inquire into and correct abuses as well as to punish offences committed within the territory under his Government and within the limits of his jurisdiction.

A vessel of war belonging to U. S. daily expected to chastise King Kraco and his Berebe people for murder of Captain Farewell in April.

August 15. S. and S. W. cold salt airs and chilling winds stopped. To-day calm for first time—it may be said since middle of May.

August 16. Rained—heavy showers—Thunder first time since middle of June. July and August up to this date cloudy, cool, dry and windy. Rice mostly harvested. Crop excellent. Two years past crop was bad.

Balla about thirty years of age—remembers famine here; twice half famine. "Sun hurt everything"—men cut palm trees to eat the pith which all say makes an excellent cabbage.

August 22. Rich merchants having a commercial house—in Fernando Po. and a steamer (Becrofts Commander) on Niger—Mr. J. resides in Liverpool.

Dr. Moffat took two letters—one for Bishop Hughes of Giberalter requesting seeds and plants—via Sierra Leon.—Gave him some account of the establishment and prosperity of this Mission. Letters to Giberalter must go *Per* Liverpool—no mail direct from Sierra Leon. to Gr. Mail to S. Leon goes by every opportunity p. Liverpool.

J. K. dined at Government company. Captain Crompton, Dr. Moffat, Geo. R. M'Gill and Rev. M. Williams (Colored Methodist).

Captain C. trades to Leeward, goes up the Niger, is an

Englishman—above middle size, stout—Dr. Moffat Scotch—Captain C. has uniformly good health is a discreet sensible man and has much experience. He speaks confidently of the wisdom and safety of vegetable diet on this coast and especially is in favor of yams—while he and men had plenty, never had trouble nor sickness; cleanliness, etc., being duly attended. Attributes and very justly the continual scurveys, etc., of East In. vessels to scarcity of fit provisions—while in E. In. trade Captain C. made it his rule daily to use vegetables especially of yams and other roots.

For strangers always dangerous—Pineapple if spirits be drank with it perils life. Pour brandy on—over it and the acid blackens instantly.

August 26. To-day J. K. had slight chill—broke the fever by taking 30 drops of laudanum in a glass of warm wine and water. Chills wearing off. Quinine at this period is a specific. With many it will not agree or sit on stomach—if 3 or 2 grains be dissolved in a wine glass of cit. acid in solution say 3 or 4 grains it may agree very well. Some take easier by putting a teaspoonful of aromatic spirits, ground cloves and alspice we found put plentifully on good spirit to help the taking of the medicine while we think it adds to its efficacy. After this attack and D. P. lots do. Some days back we take 2 grains of the quinine every morning early—continued it two weeks. Thirst being very great after recent little attack we used lime juice plain in water and found it salutary and best quencher.

September 2. The Vandalia (U. S.) from Norfolk comes to anchor—being sent to guard and keep on coast on account of the complaints of ill usage from British war vessels searching all American vessels upon suspicion, as under that flag the slaves carry on their horrid traffic. It is said the U. S. Consul at St. Iago for bribes, gives the Brazilian and Horona slave's American Papers!

September 6. Three of the officers—Roursy, Ring, etc., called in our cabin invited us on board.

September 7. Captain Brown of the trading schooner arrived two days ago—informs us he will go down to Bereby—the Vandalia will stay here. He will try to decoy under pretext of trade some of King Kraco's people and seize them prisoners. He went look mil. of stores.

It was not by Government orders to avenge the death of

Captain Farewell the Vandalia came. Governor R. and Rev. Mr. Minor of Taboo (A. Epis. Missions) appealed that no Americans' life was secure in that vicinity and that the crime being unpunished would embolden other tribes on the coast to attempt similar crimes and piracy.

It is certain that part of the spoil of Captain F.'s vessel was divided to other tribes and we believe that part was distributed thro cunning policy at this Cape.

Since the arrival of the Vandalia fires were lighted from Taboo to Cordly—Blege—Cape Palmas and Rock and Fish towns! What they conveyed we suppose were the movements observed here where the vessel of war so dreaded is staying.

September 8. Two officers of the V. came ashore and contrary to the expectations of Governor R. and Mr. M'Gill went to the Presbyterian Mission house and had King Freeman and his head men cited there to a Palaver about the goods stolen from the Mission Store House—a month ago and which the two Missionaries Grisweld and Walker—preparing to follow Rev. J. L. Wilson to Gaboon—had been informed when taken to the King's house and divided with his head men. Mr. G. had threatened the King with a Palaver when the expected war vessel would arrive. Governor R. and Mr. M'Gill, Davis says, told the King not be frightened—Mr. G. could do nothing and that when he (Davis) had convened his people head men to tell them what Mr. G. desired them to do and to advise them to give back the goods. King F. and head men told him they would not—that Governor and Mr. M'Gill said that there could not be Palaver and that if war vessel came—it was with him—the Governor, the officers would confer about this matter. But for this Davis affirms the property would then be surrendered!

The ground of Mr. Grisweld's refusal to give the King the names of his informers was the known fact that they afterwards must fly the country—or be liable to be murdered as is the custom. On this ground the officers decided that the King must pay as evidence for conviction of crimes was not allowed—and the King could not have caused the goods to be returned.

It is very deserving of remark that on the morning of the 2nd instant King Freeman and his head men went up the river to a rock under which a new imposter of a Doctor pretends he saw the Devil and has since been able to cure everything and

everyone. Here the blind chiefs early in the morning sacrificed a goat to appease the devil—to have this dreaded Palaver not *to catch the King*. In the afternoon of the same day the war vessel came proudly into the harbor providentially—now indeed the issue being seen—might reason awake from her guilty slumber, but alas she has overpowering enemies—the flesh and the devil. This occurence we view withal as an indication of coming graces.

September 10. The war vessel Vandalia went leeward this morning towards Bereby.

Natives divided. Wah (Joe) of Wah town called at our house as he does frequently—seeming grateful for his escape thro us last February. Wah and Davis thought the ruse of paying Mr. Grisweld for the Presbyterian goods by a few bullocks a useless scheme and that the 500 Kroos of rice as an appraisement by the American officers cannot be evaded. Wah seemed very willing to pay and settle.

V. returned. Captain Brown not seen—nor Bereby!

September 23. The officers sent for King and head men and held Palaver in the Presbyterian Mission House. King offered to pay one half of the appraisement—officers affirmed 500 Kroos of rice must be paid.

The King said the people would not do it. The officers rose—Palaver broke up. 5 o'clock King's Brother *Jim Davis* and *Tom Freeman* made prisoners on ship.

September 25. Catechism resumed in Bimle—Luh.

Instruction P. M. King attended. J. K. at end offered to pay 20 bars—part of the appraisement—war hurt King—hurt women and children, the good and the bad, it hurt school—our people want soon to build on lot gave by King—war bad for everything. So we said first time—so now.

King (Gnimm) replied—he thanked us, etc. Suppose man-of-war go burn town well he may do that—all men glad to see it—suppose they come—all men must fight—if they be killed that be small thing. Because if they go pay this Palaver now *then it be law*—all time—then if two men choose steal, King must pay—if one Spoon be thieved then Missionary say pay or never mind it to that time man-of-war come—then we must pay two, three bullocks. Suppose man-of-war take them two men—they can do it—Mr. Grisweld say, first time he came to do good—well he say come for God now it be not so—he accuse King—say King

be thief—their King cannot pay that much—no man pay unless Mr. G. let man-of-war go and set Palaver with our people himself.

J. K. concluded he had nothing to say—Mr. Grisweld not be one of his people—he never visits his house but it was to save people from trouble he thought it better to pay.

Great R. Indifference.—September 26. Few went to Bush today—almost none attended the call of our bells.

Balla agreed to get a new lot of trees from swamp to finish posts and his rafters—our frame yet on the low, damp ground at the bottom of garden near road. Termites attacking sill and other parts exposed about.

Tenth of March framing commenced—five or six men at it still —we furnishing material regularly.

Great damage sustaining from the neglect and slowness of the head carpenter. We erred in estimating character—should never be paid in advance, reserving pay, half, say to the end of work —half wages paid each Saturday—then men are obedient—but never we find if paid in advance as we have good naturedly but very unwisely done. *In every case* with colonists and with natives especially, it has proved injurious.

Walked to Cape—visited Chief Dueh "Packard," father. The medicine is proving salutary. His case was intermittent when he fled to the country to evade the witch's eye. He is still very feeble and cold, has fever occasionally. The quinine dissolved in citric acid to which is added a little holland gin he takes regularly every morning. His family seem thankful to us and he says he will take no medicine but ours this time. An application of this sort has occurred but three times. Natives have great confidence in their doctors. This is an impediment to infant Baptism as we are never solicited to visit and being too much occupied as yet, cannot seek occasions where peril of death exists.

That the King has received advices as Davis before informed us from Governor R. and is thereby encouraged to resist the claim of the Presbyterian Mission cannot be doubted. "Jack Green" and "Coffee" have both said today that Governor advises King Freeman not to pay. The former—T. G. says: "Country-men not have a Law but Governor does—Jim Davis and the other may go—man of war may take him—but we not pay 1 Kroo and rice—all that Palaver go put him in a book and send him to

America—if this time man of war kill Davis then we will go kill Mr. Grisweld—but me think they can't hurt them men."

Few leave the native towns today. Passing thro the heart of Bimleluh to see Dueh we observed some very grim faces—many salute us kindly and as usual—the youth very cheerfully—many carried huge knives and cutlasses and many men occupied cleaning do. and guns.

Davis gave me this list of amount stolen from Missionary store:

12 Pieces of Romane Hdfs.
21 Pieces of Blue Baft.
288 Yds. Fur. Check.
5 Pieces of Sat. Stripe.
1½ Pieces Tom Coffees.
3 Doz. of Plates.
40 Brass Rods.
5 Copper Rods.
1 Skeleton(human). Bought U. S. by Rev. Grisweld, cost $15. For this they have paid now two bullocks. By this the crime is avowed, yet being encouraged, they now refuse to pay anything—they say boldly—*no*—not one half Kroo of rice.

September 28. A day of terror to the natives—Dr. Savage's man Tom was yesterday aboard the Vandalia—saw men cleaning arms—believed they would seize the King today. All stay at home. We see only one old man bring some Kopada from the farms. Dr. Savage was yesterday at the Cape. Called returning to the Presbyterian Mission House. To him and Mr. Grisweld is attributed all this trouble.

Protestant ministers and teachers.—Providentially we have not visited the Vandalia. Natives (perhaps Dr. S. was not) were struck at the nimble haste of (all) the Protestant Missionaries to go aboard of the V. the first day early after her arrival Rev. Messrs. Minor, Grisweld, Walker, Smith and one or two teachers went aboard. Two or three of the officers dined twice (before each Palaver) at the Presbyterian Mission House.

Simpson—(a carpenter) today remarked to J. Kelly: Presbyterian and Episcopalian ministers scrupled to allow their teachers, etc., to do military duties in this Colony and had much difficulties with the Governor about it. But now a man-of-war is called in to their service—if like ministers of the gospel they tried themselves to settle this difficulty and called on Mr. Rusworm the mat-

ter would be more creditable. Mr. R. would have put all right; the ministers might have kept out of the affair altogether.

"Muskets are too light for such gentlemen—they seem to prefer the cannon. They hate the colored man and show it more here than in America."

Thomas Jackson (Justice and licensed to extort and preach—also licensed to trade) called—spoke much relative to the pending Palaver—of his hearing Mr. J. L. Wilson before quitting this station affirm his reasons, viz: "1. Because could not submit to the colored laws—2nd. Because the Catholics had planted themselves here." Mr. Jackson spoke mysteriously of results growing out of recent difficulties with the colony—matters to be laid before the M. C. So. in America touching Missions—intimated further restrictions and the failure of all Christian effort by *white men* here—he spoke with emphasis of existing perils to them all—and of threats lately made by natives to burn the buildings of the Presbyterian Mission and the Episcopalian also at Mt. Vaughan and at Covally! The colony in that event should have had to interfere—then all should be involved. For Governor says no feeling on his part shall prevent him from protecting those sent and allowed to reside within the territory. Mr. J. spoke also of his regard for the Catholic Mission, etc., and how himself had been blamed at certain places for having manifested his regard.

Today natives begin to collect rice to pay 300 Kroos which with two Bullocks is accepted.

September 29. J. K. sent 20 bars of tobacco with Davis and Dueh to King as a present to help to pay Palaver. King refused to accept it because it was reported in his town that J. K. had bought his town and had so written to America and had sent thither for a ship of war to drive off natives. Mr. Jackson—above named, met Davis and D. returning and hearing that King Freeman had been so alarmed and in consequence refused to manifest confidence and regard as was usual and uninterrupted hitherto towards us, replied: "*I see countrymen have sense.*"

Attempt to excite the Natives against our Mission.—By a disciple of Jn. Wesly and a Justice of the P!

Davis and Dueh returned to our cabin and having stated the above Mr. K. enquired what authority was given for this absurd but most malicious report. Davis said the individual named was

a Krooman who had just come from Gerand Cass and Cape Massurado. Mr. K. requested Davis to find him forthwith. Davis and Tom Nimblebo King's Brother found him in Liverpool House in Woh town. Davis wrote to J. K. that the G. Cass man was then in his house. J. K. proceeded promptly and took Davis—Tom—Wassa and the G. Cass man—*"Sèsè"* or "New Tom Toby" to Bodio's and thence to King's House. Head men were called and owing to existing excitements were very soon assembled. Several had as usual their seats—stools and stool boxes with them.

Sèsè was questioned as to the fact alleged to have been learned by him from a captain of a vesel on which he had recently worked. Sèsè did not know Mr. Kelly's name nor that a new mission was planted here—nor that it had purchased a town—nor that it was calling in a ship of war. All he knew was that he heard the captain of the Vandalia telling his captain at Monrovia he would stop at Cape Palmas and would go also to Bereby and punish B. people. Kwia made a long talk—was violent—believed the report, etc., one other. But finally it was traced to Kwia, his son—Gre was sent for, was home—went out of the way and did not come. All present partook in the conversation and reasoning—Sèsè was questioned a second time. The King then made a solemn speech and concluded by declaring the report was altogether a lie—all assented—Kwia was convinced of it.

September 30. J. K. and Davis went to the King's to inform him of our intentions of soon erecting our school in his town and to ascertain the hearing of late oppositions. The King was very willing we had a school—But said that the *"Tabbe Kai"* site we purchased was too small, neighbors would be offended by the building crowding on them. The King therefore thought it better that we would build on 1.

Mr. K. did not wish any change—that place was refused by Governor R. already. Davis made a speech. Mr. Kelly in conclusion he said had given offense to King by refusing to Governor what was not for Governor to "give" or to "stop." Mr. K. said he would like King to say to Governor R. that he and his head men wanted a school on the hill and did not want Mr. Kelly to put school inside of Big town and that King should tell all to Governor and that Mr. Kelly says if any quarrel or

Palaver "live" between King and Governor about the hill that Mr. Kelly says he shall not build a school upon it.

King called on Governor.

October 1. Governor and King and Davis come upon the "Holy Hill." Governor asked King what make Mr. Kelly want to build "here." Mr. K. had already got a place for him large enough—why he not put school there? King F. and Davis both informed the Governor that Mr. K. had already bought a place for school next Bodio's and the opposition of some Doctors and others to the building on the Bodio's square—and that therefore they wanted Mr. Kelly to take this place being near enough since Mr. Kelly wanted to be in town—Because his house was too far for all children to come to school. Governor said let Mr. Kelly build next "your house" (to Davis) as Mr. Kelly's friend you be. Davis got angry—asked Governor whose land this be?

Governor replied he would "talk that Palaver"—another time —"This not be place for it." Davis said he wanted Governor to tell him whose land this hill be—King not sell it—it be some a town between towns—if he asked question must Governor sit down in house before he speak! "Well (says G.) this hill be large—Mr. K. not want all—he (G.) wants to put a Court House on this part (point highest). Mr. K. may build that site"—point ing to the declension towards Davis. King said "Governor must then build his house true it fit two houses."

Today called to inform Mr. K. to go build. Governor R. say he not stop him, etc.

Mr. K. informed Davis King must shew Mr. K. where to build.

October 4. King sent for J. Kelly to inform him of his good wishes and to shew him place for his school. He marked out what Davis first claimed last March when he said he had first time only told Governor Hall he may put one house there—where Governor R. wants—D. said he done that for friend's side but not because Governor Hall had any right to it. "He not buy it."

October 8. Captain Goldsmith (of Herald) arrived—told us the Brig was at Cape Massurado—Mr. Kenedy of Boston had paid great attention to our orders (thro Bp. Fenwick) that he had much freight but no shingles—that Mr. Kenedy pressed—but they could not (17,000) be taken!

Our Large frame lays yet on the ground—Sauci finishing the

posts—not a shingle bought here—no store or yard—must get them out the woods!

Showery—occasionally quite cool yet planting a good season. We planted potatoes, beans, copada, (onions, melons and American seeds), on the 4th commenced.

Missions of Africa.

"If there be one country for which we feel more deep concern than another, it is Africa. The land of Carthage and Thebes, of the records of Herodotus and Strabo of the learning that Moses studied, and the primitive Christianity that Cyprian, the African bishop, taught and that Origin defended. Every effort to awaken her from the guilty sleep of ages, and to bring her to the field of Emanuel we cannot but approve. For her our eyes have wept, our heart has bled, as we have thought on the ravages of which she is the unhappy victim. We have perused the last 200 years of her history."

Ant. Voyages.

Necho's expedition sailed 3 years. Upon their return they related that when they were south of Africa, the sun was N. of them, a fact which Herodotus from ignorance of Astronomy discredited, but proves that the voyage around the continent at that time (607 B. C.) was really accomplished. Herodotus states that a few young men from the coast of the Mediterranean traversed the habitable parts of Lybia and the great desert beyond, were seized by a company of *blacks* and conveyed thro extensive marshes to a city which was on a river which flowed from W. to E. frequented by crocodiles. This river was doubtless the Niger. The inhabitants were characterized as imposters or sorcerers. a sufficient indication that the present superstitious practices of the Africans, at that time existed.

Nebuchadnezzar, Cambyses and Alexander successively subdued Egypt but they found the torrid atmosphere and sands of the desert more powerful opponents than the ——.

THE JESUITS IN SOUTH AMERICA

Contributed by the Rev. John F. O'Hara, C. S. C.

[The subjoined text is a translation of an interesting passage in that most interesting book, *Noticias Secretas de America,* by Don Jorge Juan y Santicilia and Don Antonio de Ulloa, published in London in 1826 by Don David Barry, who found it in the Spanish archives, where it had lain for nearly a century. This book, as noted in the *Catholic Historical Review* for January, 1917 (p. 433), is the source of many of the present day attacks on the clergy of South America. Both the authors, who wrote for the information of the king and the editor, recognized the injustice of the royal conduct towards the Jesuits, and paid high tribute to the success of their zeal for the conversion and civilization of the Indians. The editor's observations regarding the political effect of the expulsion of the Jesuits are so striking and so correct that their rendition into English seems desirable.—John F. O'Hara, C. S. C.]

The Expulsion of the Jesuits

Note of the editor (Don David Barry) to the *Noticias Secretas de America,* p. 536:

Jealous of the power, the enlightenment and the constancy of the Jesuits . . . ., the Spanish ministry sought to involve them in some crime, and the immense riches they were popularly supposed to possess, presented a cause of action, little justifiable, but by its nature very inciting. The cabinet at Madrid resolved at last to rid itself of the uneasiness caused by an Order whose individuals it considered dangerous citizens, and to effect this it issued a decree of banishment and confiscation of goods throughout the Spanish dominions, for reasons *reserved in the royal heart* (words of the decree) but since this resolution was born of a timid policy, it was necessary to use secrecy and surprise to insure its execution. The decree was communicated to the Viceroys and Presidents of the various American governments with the instruction that at a fixed hour of a certain night, all the Jesuits in each province should be surprised, and since

by their rule they were forbidden to leave their cloisters at night, there was no doubt that the desired effect could be obtained.

On the night set, in each province and city, the commissioner of the royal order placed the troops under arms, ordered pickets to guard the field to seize any who attempted flight, placed sentinels around each college to prevent communication, and calling together his confidants, revealed to them the secret of the rigorous mandate. At two o'clock in the morning, amid profound silence, the detachment moved to the college, and gaining admittance on ordinary pretexts, called the community together and gave them notice of the decree of exile. The religious listened with the respect due His Majesty and humbly submitted to the royal decree.

Messengers had already been sent to surprise at the same time the religious in charge of the mission towns and estates, and all were brought together for safekeeping until the ships were ready to transport them to Spain, and thence to Italy, according to the agreement made with the Pope.

* * * * * *

In each town where there was a college, the king's edict was published the next morning with all the solemnity of armed forces and the roll of drums, the usual concomitants of arbitrary authority; but the edict mentioned the expulsion of the Jesuits in a single word; it dealt with another command, namely, that "all who possessed goods belonging to the Jesuits should submit an inventory of them with the peremptory term of three days."

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Thus were the Jesuits driven from their establishments, from their colleges and from America, at the same time that they were banished from the Peninsula, because to annihilate the Jesuits overseas it was necessary to involve in their ruin the Jesuits of Spain. What is most surprising is that a deed so harsh, illegal and mysterious, should have been effected under the rule of the best king Spain ever had, but Charles III was without doubt seduced by the artifice of his ministers. Having committed the injustice of destroying this powerful body, it was necessary to blot out their name from the list of religious; for this they appealed to the Pope with such insistence, that, finding himself at a loss for excuses, he decreed the extinction of the celebrated Society of Jesus.

The writer has been unable to discover what were the accusations presented to the Spanish ministry to incline the King to sanction their banishment—they were a cabinet secret—but according to some reports he has had occasion to see the imputations against the Jesuits of Paraguay were the following:

1. That the population diminished under the political system of the missionaries.

2. That the Indians were deprived of the proprietorship over the product of their own labors.

3. That although all Indian men, between eighteen and fifty-five years of age, were bound to render tribute, the Jesuits accounted for only a small number, thus defrauding the Royal Treasury.

4. That by conducting themselves the traffic in the products of the missions, they built up an immense export trade, as profitable for the Society as it was barren for the State.

5. That they did not permit the Indians to learn the Spanish language nor communicate with the Spaniards, thus preventing the growth of warm feeling which comes from trade, and maintaining them as it were, outside the commonwealth.

6. That the Jesuits manufactured all kinds of arms in the missions, in order to protect their insubordination and independence.

The writer does not presume to vindicate the Jesuits, defend their system, nor justify their maxims, but neither can he be deaf to the reasons which overthrow these ill-founded charges against the Jesuits of Paraguay, even supposing that they are not pure fabrications; and thus these points can be refuted in order, briefly, by eye-witness investigations made at the times.

It is a ridiculous calumny and a crass mistake to say that the population decreased when the Indians were reduced to social order. From the presence of wandering bands of Indians of the same tribe on two frontiers a hundred leagues apart, it cannot be inferred that all the intervening territory is filled with inhabitants. This was the case with the Guaraní Indians before the Jesuits reduced them to social order.

The deprival of proprietorship under the circumstances could be not only justifiable, but necessary; and perhaps for those Indians the assurance of subsistence was preferable to absolute ownership. An examination of this point, in view of the na-

ture and capacity of the indigenes, would decide in favor of the Jesuit administration.

Although Governor Aldunate reported to the Council of the Indies that under the rule of the Jesuits there were 150,000 Indians who should pay tribute, at the time of the expulsion it was found that there were scarcely 30,000 able-bodied Indians between eighteen and fifty-five; at the proportion of seven to one, the population would have been more than a million, a number that will hardly be found now in the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Paraguay and Upper Peru (Bolivia).

It is not easy now to determine what was the product of the trade in *yerba mate,* tobacco, cotton and sugar, but considering the population of the province of Buenos Aires and the slow course of importation into Peru, it could not have been exorbitant; it should be observed, too, that from this revenue was paid the royal tribute, while the remainder was spent on goods not produced by the missions, and for their greater prosperity. And even though the missions had paid nothing into the royal treasury, neither did they cost the Crown a farthing. What nation has ever formed colonies (industrial, not mining) without the sacrifice of immense sums of money?

As for the lack of instruction in Spanish it was hardly to be expected that a handful of serious men should abandon what was most essential to the prosperity of the ignorant natives, to teach them a foreign tongue; the wisdom of those religious showed forth nobly in their adoption of the native tongue as a means of instruction.

Furthermore, each town had a public school where the natives were taught to read and write Spanish. Even though the separation of the Indians from the Spaniards had been as rigorous as the charge supposes, the stability of a republic governed only by maxims of virtue, and not by the fear of punishment, demanded absolutely the exclusion of such guests. This alone proves the disinterested knowledge the Jesuits had of their compatriots.

The manufacture of arms was a measure dictated by necessity. The towns of the missions had on their frontiers various establishments of foraging Portuguese . . . . If in case of an invasion they would have had to await the arrival of soldiers and arms, the same thing would have happened to them that oc-

curred . . . . when Guayaquil[1] was menaced by the squadron of Admiral Anson.

[The Indians of the missions] were creatures of the Jesuits; they listened, obeyed and respected them as a superior race, and not only the Jesuits, but the Spaniards as well. Trained in these notions, and imbued with these principles of obedience, who would have dared to stir them to rebel against the Spaniards? What motives could be alleged to arouse them when they did not believe themselves oppressed, since they were not molested? A single exhortation of their pastors would have rallied all the Indians to the banner of the king, not only for self-defense, but to suppress rebellion wherever it showed its head. Obedient to their lawful chieftains, equipped and led by able men, they would have shown their adversaries the magic effect of the idea of fighting for religion and the king. Half a century after the Jesuits left Paraguay, when Spain was occupied by an enemy, its king dethroned and exiled with the royal family; when Buenos Aires was already independent and its battalions marched upon that province, what did the revolution accomplish there, and what was the disillusionment of the capital when it saw returning the disordered ranks of its routed soldiers? And, although they did set up a Governor when it was impossible to receive one from Spain, what was the system set up in that rich province? If what Francia has done with only the remains or tradition of the Jesuit system appears extraordinary, what would not the missionaries themselves have done? It is useless to attempt to prove that the Jesuits have always been faithful to the King of Spain, since everyone knows that the right of the Sovereigns was a proverbial maxim in the Society.

Another consequence of the expulsion of the Jesuits has been

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[1] "What happened at Guayaquil" is thus told by Juan y Ulloa, *op. cit.*, p. 182: "First, rigorous orders were published, commanding under grave penalties, all the inhabitants to produce whatever arms they had; then the President wrote very courteous letters to the more honored men of the city, and went in person to ask others to lend what arms they had; the bishop, on his part, went to the ecclesiastics, exhorting them to contribute the heirlooms left by their warlike ancestors, and the net result was that in this city of 60,000 inhabitants, they gathered sixty pieces, old and new, in good or bad shape. With this armament the company departed from Quito to protect the port of Guayaquil, some with lockless arquebusses, some with short rifles, some with shotguns, some with only a pistol, and as there were still twelve who had no arms of any sort, they were ordered to carry lances."

the aggrandizement of the Portuguese in Brazil. As long as they held their missions, the Portuguese did not usurp an inch of territory, and whenever they tried to encroach along the Marañon, Paraná and Uruguay, they came out the worse for wear. Scarcely were the Jesuits removed, when the Portuguese opened a way along the Marañon, to invade Quito whenever they saw fit. A little later, with the founding of Matto Grosso, they established themselves almost within the limits of the Mojos and Chiquitos. Within thirty years after the expulsion, they had made themselves masters of almost all the towns of the Guaraní missions. The possession of this usurped territory has made it possible recently for the Portuguese to occupy the whole of the Banda Oriental (Uruguay), the finest spot in the whole of America.

What has been said justifies the proposition that Charles III, in expelling the Jesuits, left exposed the security and integrity of his overseas possessions.

THE GENERAL MEETING

A representative audience filled the ballroom of the Catholic Club on the evening of February 9, 1920, for the annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society. His Grace Archbishop Hayes, the Honorary President of the Society, presided, and the business details of the gathering were carried on by the President, Stephen Farrelly. The guest of the evening was United States Senator David I. Walsh, of Massachusetts, who spoke on "A Layman's Impressions of Catholic Conditions in the Far East." In opening the meeting Mr. Farrelly said:

"It is a very great pleasure again to welcome the members and their friends to a gathering that indicates a continued and practical interest in the preservation of the records of our past history. It is a special pleasure this evening, favored as we are by the presence of our honorary president, his Grace the Most Rev. Archbishop, long one of our active members and ever a helpful friend in our work. In addition we are favored by having as our guest and the speaker of the occasion the junior Senator from Massachusetts whose distinguished career has reflected so much honor on himself and relatively on his brethren in the Faith.

"The year that has elasped since our last general meeting has been most satisfactory in the affairs of the Society. Notwithstanding the social confusion, industrial turmoil, and political agitation consequent as aftermaths of the great World War our old members have been steadfast in their loyalty and many new associates promise to add to our efficiency. Our finances, as the treasurer's report indicates, are in a most solvent condition. The regular volume of our RECORDS AND STUDIES was sent to the members and its contents met with general approval. Another is in course of preparation and will be published in April. Its contents will offer valuable additions to our store of information on the happenings of former times.

"Perhaps the most gratifying incident of our year's work has been the widespread response on the part of our Catholic educational institutions to our invitation to compete for the prize of $100 that the Society has offered for the best essay on Catholic Day. The Editorial Committee received twenty-four papers from as many competitors representing Catholic colleges

in New York, Brooklyn, Chicago, Washington, Baltimore, Boston, St. Paul, Cleveland, St. Louis and Santa Clara, California. They all show painstaking research and scholarly use of critical historical methods on the part of the participants, and are a most promising augury for the future growth of an interest in the study of our history.

"The judges in the contest have not yet finished their examination of the papers submitted so as to determine the final award. As this is leap year it will be a great pleasure, I know, to the ladies who are listening to me to learn that the judges tell me the papers submitted from our Catholic women's colleges show a very high average of scholarship, and as a group are better even than most of those from the male competitors. Last year, it will be remembered, Mt. St. Vincent came second in the contest, and I am not violating any confidence when I say the competitors from that institution this year have not caused it to lose any of the prestige thus acquired. We hope to be able to announce the name of the winner of the prize in a very short time, and the details will be printed in the next volume of RECORDS AND STUDIES, which the Editorial Committee promise to have ready April next.

"With all these pleasant prospects, however, our regret is keen that we lost by death during the year several of our members, namely, one of our former presidents, the scholar, scientist and historian, Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet; our vice-president, Mr. William R. King, for years a most attentive official and zealous promoter of the Society's welfare; Mr. Richard S. Treacy, long our painstaking and self-sacrificing treasurer; the Rev. Dr. Frederic W. Schneider; and Messrs. T. Lenane, J. A. Hopkins and Edward J. Curry. As has been our time-honored custom, we here make a formal expression of our sorrow at the passing from amongst us of these much lamented friends and, praying that the eternal light may shine upon them, we include this fact as part of the official record of this meeting. We have also just been informed that another member, the late M. T. Kielty, of Geneva, N. Y., has left the society a legacy.

"Now the stated details of our meeting must be taken up. The first item of the regular order of business is the calling of the roll and the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting. In order to expedite matters, if there be no objection, I will follow

a suggestion that these routine details be dispensed with and proceed to dispose of the further business of the occasion."

The Secretary, Mr. Fargis, read a brief summary of the minutes and reported that the treasurer showed all bills paid and a substantial balance in the bank to the credit of the Society.

The election of officers came next, with the result: Honorary president, the Most Rev. P. J. Hayes, D. D.; president, Stephen Farrelly; vice-president, Thomas S. O'Brien, LL. D.; treasurer, Henry Ridder; corresponding secretary, Joseph H. Fargis, LL.D.; recording secretary, Peter Condon, A. M.; librarian, the Rev. Joseph F. Delaney, D. D.; trustees, the Right Rev. Monsignor Joseph F. Mooney, V. G.; the Right Rev. Monsignor James H. McGean, D.D.; the Right Rev. Monsignor John F. Kearney; the Right Rev. Monsignor Henry A. Brann, D. D.; Thomas F. Meehan, Percy J. King, Francis J. Quinlan, M. D.; councilors, the Rev. R. H. Tierney, S. J.; Edward J. McGuire, LL. D.; Thomas Hughes Kelly, William J. Amend, Arthur Kenedy, Arthur F. J. Rémy, Ph.D.

Mr. Farrelly then introduced Senator Walsh.

Senator Walsh: Your Grace, Mr. President, officers and members of the Catholic Historical Society, I feel like drawing up an indictment and convicting Reverend Father Tierney of a very serious offence, namely, of bringing me here to-night. I can well understand my being invited in these days to come and talk about the treaty with Germany and the League of Nations and the Irish question (applause)—I thought Boston was the only place they had sympathy with that question—the Americanization of our foreigners, the Smith-Towner bill, and many other great and interesting public questions; but why Father Tierney should compel me to recall to my mind a trip I made to the Orient three years ago and come here and talk about it to you people, really is beyond my comprehension.

I feel, however, a very serious responsibility at this time in making certain that I should be with you. I was very anxious not to disappoint you, as I was obliged to a year ago. By the way, as I heard the minutes read of your meeting a year ago, I wondered if the same cause that I then gave would have been a possible excuse to-night.

Well, if the President of the United States was still battling for those great, immortal ideals, which he gave utterance to over

a year ago, and which not only stirred the hearts of the weak and the hopes of the world, but stirred to action and to fire the peoples of the world, I would have made every sacrifice, even that of denying to you my presence here to-night, to go and meet him (applause). Unfortunately, those great ideals have not materialized into law, or international law, and we are witnessing the spectacle of disappointed hopes and disappointed people everywhere, because we promised what we have failed to give to the world, because we have accomplished so little of the great ends and objects that we set out to accomplish during the days that we were making such stupendous sacrifices in the service of our country.

But that is not the topic that we are interested in to-night. I am going, very imperfectly and very hurriedly, to give you a description of what I observed as an American citizen, and as a Catholic, during three months of a sojourn through the Orient, particularly calling your attention to the work which our Church is doing there and the limitless and boundless opportunity for further service and work.

Three things are necessary for the accomplishment of missionary work among the heathen: first and most important of all, self-sacrificing human beings, willing to devote their lives to this work; secondly, an organized plan of operation; and, thirdly, money, finances. Unfortunately, our Church has had only the first of these three essentials. I do not think that one really appreciates our Church, the fact that it is carrying out its mission to teach all nations and all peoples; the fact that it is a great cosmopolitan Church, that it is not a Church of any one race or nation, I say I do not think one appreciates it until one goes into the Orient.

You know, I think our great handicap, if I may use that word, in America is due to the fact that our Church is considered to be a racial Church. I think that most people who are non-Catholics, and many who are Catholics, are inclined to consider our Church, especially in this part of the country, an Irish Church; and I find very frequently among public men, especially people whom you would expect to be better informed, reference is made to our Church as a racial Church, as an "Irish Church." Probably in other parts of the country, in the west particularly, they refer to it as a "German Church," where there are a large

number of German Catholics. But if any one has any doubt about the catholicity of our Church, that doubt is soon dispelled in the Orient, because there every nationality, or the self-sacrificing souls of every nationality, associated with our Church, are working for the spread of our religion.

To understand the work that has been done there, it is quite essential to know something of the difference between the Japanese and the Chinese. Everybody who travels in the Orient loves the Chinese. You do not hear one unkind word spoken by anybody who travels in the Orient against the Chinese. On the contrary, you seldom hear a kindly word said of the Japanese. Somehow or other, the Japanese impress you as a people who make a virtue of deception. They are not open. They are not frank, they always have an ulterior motive, or appear to have, in everything that they do. You may employ a Japanese servant, and that servant will be courteous, kind, thoughtful, obedient, respectful and industrious; but you never have the confidence of that servant. You never feel that you understand and appreciate everything that servant is thinking about, and you never feel that your relations are absolutely open and candid. There is a personal restraint in the Japanese character that prevents any such thing as open-heartedness and open-mindedness.

The Chinese character in contrast is open, frank, honest, sincere, lovable. I do not think in all my travels of six months in the Orient, I heard one unkind word said about the Chinese people as a people. And possibly it is because of those characteristics that the Church has made very much more progress in China than in Japan.

In Japan nationality and religion go hand in hand. To become a Christian is to be no longer a loyal Japanese. So you can appreciate how very difficult it is to spread Christianity among a race of people who link their religion so strongly with their nationality. Then, too, this characteristic of the section that I have spoken about is quite apparent. Our Protestant friends who do a good deal of missionary work in the Orient have opened up schools all over Japan. They have no trouble in getting pupils who go in flocks to their schools, and who accept outwardly the Christian religion. But the moment education is over, and they have got all that the school can give them, they

go back to their old religion, and they become real Japanese again.

If I were asked what was the greatest handicap which the Catholic Church was suffering from today in the Orient in making progress towards Christianizing the Orientals, I should say it was the absence of representatives of our religion who speak the English language. The business language of the Orient is English. There is not a boy in Japan or China that has any ambition at all that does not want to learn English. I cannot emphasize that too strongly. I never saw a people so anxious, so thirsty, so desirous of learning a language as the young men of Japan and China are to know English. And I doubt if there are in all China or Japan a half dozen, at most a dozen, priests who can instruct and teach in the English language. Fortunately, our nuns, who speak English, have gone there in large numbers, and have been able to do a great deal of very useful work along this line.

That is why I think one of the great contributions that our Church in America has made to the Church as a whole, is that beginning, which your Grace had the good fortune to witness a year ago, when a small band of American priests left Maryknoll here in New York, and started for the Orient to commence missionary work in China. I think it is the beginning of a great movement which means very much indeed for the Church in the Orient.

Money and English-speaking priests and nuns will make in twenty-five years China a stronger Catholic country than the United States of America. Do you realize today that there are in China one-fifteenth as many Catholics as there are in the United States of America, I do not think we appreciate that, and that those converts to Catholicism have been brought into the Church within the work of a century, within the active work of less than half a century; and that this work has been done entirely by priests and nuns who do not speak the English language?

Italians, French, Germans, Belgians, Dutch, a few English and Irish priests, have done all the missionary work that has been done in Japan and China. I perhaps ought to add Spanish, because the Spanish Fathers have done some work there; and also, that until very recent years, it has been done entirely by the religious Orders of the Church. It is really very gratifying to find, that no matter to what part of the Orient you go, you will

find, scattered all over that great, vast territory, representatives of the various religious Orders of our Church, Dominicans, Vincentians, Jesuits, Redemptorists, Lazarists, and all the other Orders that have done so much always, at all times, for the spread of our Faith.

The Church has made very little progress in Japan, although I ought to call your attention to the fact that I think as fine a convent school as I have ever seen was being conducted by the Religious of the Sacred Heart at the convent in Tokyo. And you American ladies will be interested to know that one of the very important courses of study was teaching the refined Japanese ladies how to pour tea, and that a woman's social standing in Japan depends very largely upon the manner and the way in which she pours tea; and, therefore, the young Japanese women are given very careful and painstaking instruction in the art or science of pouring tea. Of course, that includes, I suppose, preparing tea.

I shall also call your attention to the fact that in that same city is another splendid institution, and that is the Jesuit college for young men. At that Jesuit College, and I was there in 1916, I think most of the Fathers were Germans; but I was very much pleased to find a Jesuit Father from our own Province, and from our own section of the country, one who I believe is in this country at the present time, Father McNeil. To show how willing and anxious the Japanese Fathers were to co-operate with them, several of the Fathers were invited to give courses of instruction in lectures at the University of Japan, situated in Tokyo.

I was very much interested in a story told by the Superior of his first interview with the authorities in Japan, when they sought a location in Tokyo. The Commissioner of Education asked what religious Order it was that desired to locate its school, and he was informed that it was the Jesuit Society. He asked where they had institutions of learning. Several countries were named including the United States and England. He then asked, Have you colleges in the United States? The Superior answered yes. The Commissioner then said: "Why, we didn't think there were any Catholics in the United States; we supposed it was a Protestant country." The Commissioner of Education actually confessed the fact that he did not suppose that there was any such thing as Catholic educational institutions in the United

States, and that the Catholics were a nonentity, indeed if they existed at all in this country. The Jesuits were received, as I have said, and built this splendid building there, and are making excellent progress. I look to see those two institutions become great monuments to Catholicism in that country, the Jesuit College and the Convent of the Sacred Heart, both situated in Tokyo, in a city of four millions of people. There are probably not more than 2,500 Catholics among that great population.

In every single city of any size, there is the Catholic Church, and there is an attempt to carry on a Catholic school, but in every city which I visited in Japan, the Church and school were managed and controlled by priests either from Belgium or from France. Of course, we have always been taught to have great admiration for the missionary zeal of the French clergy. I think we know a good deal of the wonderful work which they have done for the Church in all parts of the world, but I was surprised and delighted to find that their efforts were seconded very strongly by German and Belgian priests. I think some of the missionary work I observed, particularly in the Philippine Islands, that impressed me most of all, was being carried on by Belgian Fathers and Belgian nuns. All through China particularly, you will find the German Catholic priest doing excellent work in the missionary field. That is particularly true of Shantung, that part of China which is now so very much spoken of and referred to because of its connection with the Peace Treaty.

With all our efforts in the last fifty years in Japan, I think the number of Catholics at the present time is less than 75,000 out of a population of 70,000,000. But I cannot leave the story of Catholicism in Japan without telling you the story of the perpetuation of the Faith in and about Nagasaki that has been written up so beautifully by one of the Jesuit priests now at the University of Tokyo.

I do not know whether you recall that over 250 years ago the Church conducted a very active campaign in Japan, and succeeded in converting to the Faith several hundred thousand Japanese. In fact, the progress was so rapid and so great that the authorities suppressed the Faith; and on one of the hills of Nagasaki travellers are shown the spot where seventeen Jesuit Fathers were martyred over 250 years ago. Every vestige of

Christianity was stamped out, the priests were driven out; all ceremonies suspended, and the authorities were convinced that Catholicism was absolutely removed from Japan for all time.

Japan became closed to the world, and remained closed, as you know, until Commodore Perry opened it in the sixties. In the Museum at Tokyo some of the relics of the Christian era, or the attempt to Christianize Japan, are displayed, such as, a few of the bells that were used in the churches to call the early Christians together, prayerbooks, crucifixes, rosaries and other emblems of the Catholic Faith, which were seized by the authorities at the time the Government decided to remove Christianity from Japan.

Two hundred and fifty years passed by with no priests, no instruction of any kind in ceremonies to all outward appearance no evidence that the Catholic religion remained in Japan. When I think of this story I always think of how much we boast how wonderfully well our Irish forefathers preserved the Faith in Ireland. But their wonderful efforts to preserve the Faith are really quite insignificant compared with this Japanese story. For two hundred and fifty years the Faith was blotted out of Japan.

In 1865 the French Government secured a location at Nagasaki for the building of a Catholic chapel. Nagasaki is the coaling station of the Orient. All the battleships of the different countries, all the steamship lines, stop at Nagasaki to get coal, and the French authorities thought it desirable to build a chapel there, in order that French sailors and officers of their navy might, when in port, attend divine service. A French priest built a little chapel facing the harbor at Nagasaki. The day for dedication was fixed. A band from a United States battleship and one from a French ship paraded the little streets of Nagasaki; and all the Catholics that were working on or attached to vessels in the harbor attended the opening service. Not a single Japanese appeared; not a single Japanese official manifested the slightest interest.

Several weeks went by. Finally, the story is told that this French priest one morning discovered a group of fifteen Japanese men and women mysteriously peeping in the windows and moving about in a very curious and mysterious manner. He approached them. By this time he had learned to speak some Japanese, and asked them if they wanted to see the church and they entered. He paid but little attention to them, while they

wandered about and viewed with much interest the interior of the little chapel. Finally one of the women in the group approached him, and put this first question to him, "Where is the Virgin?" Of course, the French priest was stunned to receive such a question from these Japanese people. He led the little group to the side altar and pointed to the statue of the Virgin.

They murmured and chattered among themselves, and in a few moments came with a second question to him: "Has the Supreme Ruler at Rome sent you?" Imagine the astonishment of that priest at having such a question put to him! Of course, he replied that the Holy Father had sent him to them; and then they asked: "Are you married; where are your children?" He said he was not married, but they were his children, and the Holy Father had sent him to them.

They chattered more and more among themselves and finally all of them gathered about him and said with one voice, "We are of the same heart as you; we are of the same heart." For two hundred and fifty years, from father to son, from son to grandson, the religion had been handed down; and those three marks of the Church, the marks that distinguish the Catholic Church from every other Christian denomination they had retained, and in the questions which they put to him they told the story of what the Catholic Church meant to those early Christians of Japan.

He began a search for more Christians of this type and he found in and about Nagasaki, in the mountain passes and in the islands off the main line, 40,000 Catholics, who, without priest or teacher, or even prayerbook or catechism, had preserved for two hundred and fifty years the Catholic Faith, giving further proof to the claim made by the Church that the Faith never dies or wavers on the soil which has been moistened by the blood of martyrs. Today, in Japan, of the 75,000 Catholics there, 40,000 of them are descendants of the original Catholics, converted by the followers of St. Francis Xavier three hundred years ago.

Of course, I won't take the time to tell how our Holy Father confirmed the administration of the Sacrament of Baptism, which was handed from generation to generation by preserving a little of the original holy water, and by adding to it from time to time, by having some person in each community to administer this

sacrament, the only one they were able to administer in all those years. It seems a pity that people who have shown such a tenacity for the Faith should be denied by us every opportunity and every means to know more about this Faith, and to have further opportunity to embrace it, and to make it the dominant Faith of that very prosperous and rapidly developing country, Japan.

But as I said to you a few minutes ago, the most gratifying result of our missionary efforts is to be seen in China. The Chinese nature responds to the appeal of the Christian religion enthusiastically. Really our Church has done marvelous work in China, when I tell you that it is tremendously handicapped by want of funds, and, by want of having the means to give to the Chinese the language which they now crave, the English language. I think our missionaries, in the last twenty-five years. have been at a great disadvantage because all the Protestant missions are establishing schools for the teaching of English. They have unlimited funds, and have built magnificent hospitals. In a material way, they have been able to do very much more to attract these people to their form of religion than have our missionaries, yet, withal, stupendous work has been done, and nearly two millions of Catholics are now found in China. And most of this work has been done in the last quarter of a century, at least within the last fifty years. I think one of the most impressive sights I have ever seen was on Easter Sunday, 1916, when I visited the Catholic church in Shanghai, and found it filled to the very doors with Chinese. When Communion time arrived, the people flocked to the altar rail in as large numbers as we would expect in any American church.

You also know, of course, that a great many of the natives have become priests, and that the Chinese have been received into the various religious Orders. So have the Japanese, by the way, but the Chinese much more than the Japanese. The Chinese are making excellent priests and are doing the work of God in a very acceptable manner to the Church authorities. In the convent at Shanghai the French Mother Superior told me with a good deal of joy that the lilies of the convent were the Chinese nuns. And if you really want to know our Church, to know how beautiful it is when it is working among the poor and the lowly and the millions who live in squalor, and who have such a terrible struggle for existence, you want to see it in operation in the great big

cities of China; see the wonderful work that is being done there for God and for Christianity. In fact, I do not think we begin to appreciate our religion until we see its effect upon those who have been attracted to it by conversion.

I know you will pardon me, your Grace, and I hope I am not offending any of you here, because I am far enough away from Washington to say that since I have been in Washington I do not think there is any parish where I have seen a more intensely Catholic spirit than in the colored parish there. And I have been told by a very high authority at the Catholic University that, in his opinion, the two most flourishing parishes in the City of Washington are the two colored parishes. Of course, those are parishes that have grown up in the last quarter of a century.

I know the members will be interested to know that a few Sundays ago I was invited to witness the closing exercises at a mission in the colored church. The pastor happens to be a Massachusetts man hailing from Southbridge. I have seen a good many missions in my day, but I never saw such a collection. I did not see one coin go into that box, and there were about eight hundred men making that mission, and perhaps about one thousand women. The pastor told me that his collection at that mission was $2,500; and this from colored people who toil and labor in humble positions in Washington.

But it is a mistake to think that the church attracts only the lowly, because in this very City of Washington twenty-five or thirty of the school teachers in the city, colored school teachers, are members of this church, and several of the members of the congregation are professors in the Catholic University, and professional men in the various walks of life. But that is a digression.

The same thing exists in China. The Church attracts not only the humble and lowly, but the very best people, and the Chinese people really deserve to have the benefits of the Christian religion. There is no race in the world that has so many fine characteristics as the Chinese. They are simple. They are honest. They are clean-minded. They are truthful, they are industrious. Now, those are great public virtues. And the Chinaman's word is as good as his bond. They are devoted and loyal to the Church. Our missionaries report that in all their experience they have found no nationality respond to the Church

with more zeal or enthusiasm than the Chinese. In fact, I was reading not so very long ago of one great missionary who said that, in his opinion, China was to be the future great Catholic country of the world; that he thought that more of the real, true, simple, Catholic life would be found when China became Catholic than in any other part of the world. In any event, we have a large and growing Chinese clergy. We have hundreds of Chinese women living holy, sacred lives in the convents. We have thousands of Chinese women who are not in the convents, who have been instructors in the Faith, teaching their people all over China the truths of our religion, and the Church has a glorious future in that great country.

There are 400,000,000 Chinese, many of whom get up in the morning and do not know where they are going to get the crumbs to sustain the human body during the day, where the struggle for existence is tremendous; where human life means nothing; where for a man to fall dead in the street is looked upon no differently than we would look upon a dog falling dead in the streets of New York; where the custom of murdering their infants, and particularly female infants, has gone on for centuries, but which is now fast dying out.

And our Catholic nuns! How can we speak of them? How can we find words to express our gratitude? Those wonderful women of ours, who have gone from all the countries of the world, from attractive homes, from pleasant surroundings, to lead the wonderful lives they are living, and to do the wonderful things for humanity that they are doing. I have said repeatedly that we Catholics did not need the World War to teach us what sacrifice meant. We did not have to see the spectacle of our boys leaving home and our loved ones in a camp, going across the sea into the uncertain and enveloping mist of war, into the trenches of the battlefields of Europe, to know what sacrifice meant, to know what love meant. Have we not every day of our lives seen our splendid manhood and our wonderful Christian, Catholic women leave home and loved ones and go into every corner, into every part of the world, to sacrifice and to preserve, not to destroy their fellowmen, not to annihilate their fellowmen, but to bring the blessings and the truths of the Christian religion to them (applause.)

In every province of China the Cross has been raised. The

Church has sent representatives from every country into that vast country of four hundred millions of people, one-quarter of the whole population of the world, and their Sisterhoods and religious Orders are there, and the Chinese themselves are taking hold of this problem in an admirable manner.

What we need is an organized movement in America to stand behind this great work. The Protestants have an organization, and, as you know, unlimited means; and yet with all their work, with all their efforts, with every boat that crosses the Pacific filled with their missionaries—you wonder as you travel back and forth where the representatives of our Faith are on those boats. I think on the boat that took me to the Orient there must have been at least seventy-five Protestant missionaries, and even more on the boat that came back—and yet withal they have not one-tenth of the converts in China that our little band, without means or money, have been enabled to convert to the Faith in the last century.

And I am very glad indeed to know that the Church, through our hierarchy, has established a committee of bishops of our Church, to undertake this work, to plan some way of helping to advance our missions, both domestic and foreign. I do not think there is anything that has impressed me more with the great future of our Church in America than what I have had a chance to observe since I have been in Washington in the last six months, than the gathering together of the representatives of our hierarchy, and the putting of our Church on a business basis, in so far as it is going to grapple with the great public questions of the future that concern the welfare of the Church, and in so far as it is going to participate in the work of assisting our foreign missions. I think it is a great evidence of the beginning of a new era, and a prosperous era; and I think we ought to be very proud indeed as Catholics to know that we have reached such a position in America that our far-seeing Church has begun to turn its eyes westward and across the Pacific, and is going to reach out a helping hand to the millions of human beings there, who are looking towards us to lead them to the truths of Christianity.

I am sure our interests will be quickened when we begin to realize, as we are beginning now to realize, that American young men, that American soldiers, not soldiers of the flag but soldiers

of the Cross, are beginning to traverse the Pacific in, let us hope, a never-ending stream to join with the French, the German, the Italian, the Belgian and Irish priests who have planted the seeds of Christianity already. I am sure, behind these young men whom we are going to give to this great work, we will stand unitedly and give them all that is needed in the way of encouragement, in the way of spiritual, in the way of material, in the way of financial assistance, to the end that America may do its part in Christianizing the Orient.

The President: Now, ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you will all agree with me in saying that every exalted state has its responsibilities. His Grace knows that very well since he has assumed the duties of Archbishop. Now, the highest gift in the power of this Society is to name its Honorary President. I am, therefore, going to take this opportunity of calling upon him to extend our thanks and an appreciation of the highly interesting discourse that we have just heard. His Grace, the Archbishop, our Honorary President.

Archbishop Hayes: Mr. President, Senator Walsh, and fellow members of the Catholic Historical Society, I have been entranced by the very remarkable address of the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, who, at much inconvenience to himself, has honored us here tonight, and who has unfolded to us the opportunities and responsibilities of the Church in the Orient.

I am indeed intensely interested, because, just before I came here I had on my desk a letter, and I sealed that letter with my approval. It was a request from one of our students in the Seminary at Dunwoodie, a young boy whom I had trained myself in Cathedral College, very promising in every way, for the Archdiocese of New York, to allow him to enter at Maryknoll in order that he might go out on the mission to the Orient. As soon as the request was made, there was no hesitation on my part; there was no deliberation about it. To this diocese I feel it is a loss, but to the Church Universal, and to the mission in the Orient, it is going to be a gain. He is only following those others of the archdiocese who have gone to Maryknoll. One of our priests in New York, who was under me at Cathedral College, is now in the Far East doing the work of the Lord.

The story we have heard here tonight is a miracle, as men look

upon it, and yet it is not to those who have Catholic faith. I saw Maryknoll begin. The credit of it is due to Father Walsh, a namesake of the distinguished Senator, and like him from the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts, who came here and found a friend in our late lamented Cardinal Farley, who was so aptly called the "Cardinal of the Missions." When he was much younger, and when I was a very young priest, I used to hear him dream, dream aloud of the desire to see here in New York the Catholic people aroused to the missionary spirit, so that they might understand their obligation and their duty, and make such sacrifices that it might be possible for the Church to work in the Orient. It is to the credit of our late lamented Cardinal, and to the magnificent organization that we have here at the present moment, under the administration of Monsignor Dunn that, last year, our Chancellor gathered $276,000 for the foreign mission field here in the Archdiocese of New York.

I have on my desk the figures, and little did I dream, as I looked over them today, that tonight I was to listen to so very instructive a talk on the missionary field. New York has given in the last ten years, through the efforts of our Diocesan Society of the Propaganda of the Faith, over $2,000,000 to the missions in China and Japan.

We have seen the birth of Missionary College at Maryknoll. I am a member of the Board, and we are going to have a meeting tomorrow night or the night after, to consider Father Walsh's remarkable work. He started it, and I have felt from the very first day that he did great things; and if ever the Lord from above let his hand down bountifully on a work, He did it on this missionary effort under the auspices and care of Father Walsh, and blessed it from the very beginning.

We saw it grow. We would come in year after year to the meeting, and we have on that Board, Mr. Senator, a number of distinguished laymen, men of affairs, men of the city whose minds are occupied with many things, and they sat there, and they marveled at the success not only financially, but from every other viewpoint.

And so the missionary work is most promising. On top of this we have that remarkable Apostolic Letter, of Pope Benedict XV, our Holy Father, published, I believe, in December last. There the Holy Father, the Vicar of Christ, surveys the whole

field, especially the foreign missionary field. There he makes that picture so plain to me that tonight I was prepared, prepared better than otherwise I would have been, to appreciate the remarks of Senator Walsh. And the Holy Father makes that plea for the foreign missionary work. He insists that the work of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, the Holy Childhood, and, what is called, the work of St. Peter for the clergy, three great organizations, societies or associations, should continue and be blessed and be multiplied throughout the world.

In connection with this I happen to be a member of the Committee of Bishops, who have charge of the missionary work at home and abroad. A few weeks ago I was in Chicago attending a meeting of the Bishops; and I can assure you, Mr. Senator, that the Bishops, who are representatives of the hierarchy, were aflame with the apostolic desire to see that America shall continue in the evangelization of the world, especially of those far-off places and far-off islands of the sea.

We are determined; we are already in communication with Rome, especialy with the Propaganda, in order to know what to do; in fact, I am now writing a letter to our Holy Father, in which I am giving him, in response to his Apostolic letter, besides the $276,000 that have been raised for the foreign missionary field, a generous offering on the part of the Catholics of New York.

So you see that we are thinking very much about this; in fact, we are loving it very much. We have taken it to our heart and our soul, and are making it a part of our lives. And I can almost imagine that it was in this very room that some speaker, I cannot tell who he was now, explained to us on a certain occasion, in a very fascinating way too, how indeed the star of empire westward turns and goes; how when Christianity was preached, it left, of course, Bethlehem; it left Nazareth; it left Jerusalem; it never seemed to push its way towards the East. It did batter at the Orient. It tried to get a power and a force that would bring it to the East, but it was rebuffed and repelled; and so it stole quietly towards the West. It went to Greece and to Rome. It went into Egypt. It went into Africa. It stole right across Europe and right to the seas.

Then Columbus carried it across the sea with the cross, and it came to America; and it is pushing westward all the time. It is

crossing the Pacific; it is making progress among the islands of the Pacific. Sooner or later it is going all the way around the world. It is going to find its way into the East, not by the front door, which was its aim in the days of long ago, but by the rear or back door, after all these centuries.

It seems to me that God, in his wonderful providence, in the unfolding of his revelation in this geographical direction, shows the mission of the Church; that whether "East is East and West is West," or East is West and West is East, whatever way you want to put it, it does not make much difference, the Church is universal, and it is universal with regard to the points of the compass too.

But the Lord seems to have desired in the unfolding of it that America should play a part, that America should do something wonderful, something noble; and after the Faith had come here, and after we had demonstrated ourselves that the Faith was something that was not tied up with any form of government, not dependent upon the might or power of princes or kings, but was something that could exist and belong to the common and plain people, when we had demonstrated for all time that religion was a part of the very existence of man, that it filled his mind, his body, his soul, his life, yea, his labors, his toil, his successes and his sacrifices, and that that Faith should be spread to all parts of God's blessed universe. (Applause.)

And so I am very grateful. I did not come here tonight to make a speech; in fact, I did not know what I was going to say except to congratulate the Historical Society, and perhaps to try to reprimand Senator Walsh for the fact that last year I went to hear him at Delmonico's, at a great deal of inconvenience, because of my admiration for him, only to find out that I was asked to play his part. I found out I was the speaker; that I was expected to have hidden around my person some place a speech or an address; and, of course, Mr. Farrelly said, "Don't keep them five minutes; keep them as long as you like."

I feel very glad, of course, to be here tonight, and thank the Senator for coming. He has done us a great honor. I am sure he has stimulated the missionary effort and the missionary spirit here; and I congratulate Mr. Farrelly, the President of the Society, on this splendid gathering. Of course, I am intensely interested in this movement and effort. You will always find me

a very devoted friend. Last year I said so, as Chaplain Bishop, and as Auxiliary Bishop of New York. At that time I did not dream that I was going to be the Archbishop of New York at your next meeting, but I happen to be that tonight; and, of course, as Archbishop, I am going to take even a more intense interest in the affairs of the Society.

Now, I sometimes think, you do not find in the examination of conscience, in your prayer-book, when you are going to Confession, that we all might ask, What am I doing for Catholic history? You never think of asking that. It is not in the category of sins, and yet I think it is a sane one. It is an awful crime for intelligent Catholic people not to see that the things that we are doing in our time are kept straight on the record. There is not a man here, who, if he had a case before the court, would not look out to see how the record read. So it is very important.

I tell you here, not for public consumption, but I tell you that the strangest kind of requests are being made in Washington at the present moment. I am still some sort of an official of the Government. I have not ceased to be a solder or a sailor yet. The most extraordinary requests have been made in regard to the Catholic chaplains.

A prominent man wrote to the War Department the other day that his people at home wanted to know why the Catholic chaplains were receiving all the promotions and all the rewards. It never occurred to him that it might be because they deserved them. They wanted to know if we Catholics got a higher percentage of chaplains than we deserved, and a higher percentage than others; in other words, was the War Department honest and fair with the great non-Catholic community of this country.

Now, would you believe, gentlemen, that an intelligent official, he was an official, too, sitting in the United States Congress, would dare to ask a question like than of the War Department? I saw the request. It was my place to see it. I saw the answer from the Adjutant General's office, in which he said that the Catholics got the number of chaplains that they were entitled to, and that they were entitled to the percentage which they received, and which was made up by a Protestant body, the Federal Council of Churches. They knew what they were allowing the Catholics, who were getting simply what they were entitled to.

Moreover, at the close of the war the Catholic Church was entitled to some hundred more chaplains than it had. We had the names; they were filed in the War Department, and they were going through my office; and if the war had continued until the first of the year, we would have had 1,500 priests in the service. They were going through, but not having received their commissions, they could not be mustered into the service.

Remember that is only one sample of the questions that are being asked. It is very important that we Catholic people should see to it that our record is straight and correct, and not allow those who are either our enemies or are indifferent to us, to write our history and to make our record. So I think it is very important to see a society of this kind supported, and I beg your interest in it. It is not an easy task. It is a very difficult one. There is not much enthusiasm about it really, unless a man has the very spirit of it in him. It is a very thankless task, too. You do not find people handing out medals to the historian or otherwise rewarding him.

And again, remember, with regard to Church history, they say a great deal of the Church history is made up of nothing but the reflection of the newspapers of the days when newspapers did not exist, and what you read every night now is the thing that was kept for the historian in the days when there were not any newspapers; simply it was nothing else but a reflection of the political fights of those days, and that got printed and has been handed down ever since; and the genuine historian now is going through all that kind of material and stuff in order to get at the real facts of history.

So, therefore, it is very important that Catholic history should be written, reported and guarded very carefully and very honestly. I think that, therefore, tonight you can very well congratulate the President and the officers of the Society on its splendid record for the past year, and I wish it from my very heart all kinds of success for the coming year. (Applause.)

The President: Ladies and gentlemen, I trust you will not depart without partaking of the refreshments provided downstairs; and with thanks for and appreciation of the words of his Grace, I can recall what was said by his predecessor, the lamented Cardinal: "The greater your knowledge is of the history of your Church, the greater is the pride you will have in

your religion." I think that has been exemplified in the statement made by his Grace, and it is well to bear it in mind to encourage the work of the Society.

The meeting will now stand adjourned.

THE SECOND INTERCOLLEGIATE HISTORICAL CONTEST

Fourteen Institutions Represented by Papers Submitted

In a circular letter sent to the leading Catholic educational institutions of the country, on September 20, 1919, the United States Catholic Historical Society announced the second intercollegiate historical competition and urged them to interest their students in this event, fraught with importance for Catholic scholarship and Catholic interest in American history. The competition was open to all undergraduate students of Catholic universities, colleges and seminaries, the conditions to be fulfilled by all competitors being as follows:

1—An essay on "Catholic Day," March 25, 1634, the distinctively Catholic anniversary of the United States. On that day Father Andrew White, S. J., celebrated the first Mass on St. Clement's Island, in the Potomac, and the Colony of Maryland was established by Lord Baltimore. From this event follow in unbroken sequence public worship; religious toleration; the first native born priests, and the first native born religious, men and women; the Hierarchy; Catholic education, the first schools, the first colleges, and the first Catholic civic unit, St. Mary's City. No other event has such momentous bearing on religious, social and political history in the United States.

2—The essay should show painstaking historical research, with references to primary and secondary historical sources, and should be accurate and impartial in estimating historical values. The style should be simple, direct and clear.

3—Every contestant must be certified by the faculty as a student in course, of the institution to which affiliation is claimed.

There were twenty-four papers submitted in answer to this invitation, sent by students enrolled in these institutions: Georgetown University; University of St. Louis; Boston College; Holy Cross College, Worcester; Santa Clara University, California; St. Ignatius' College, Chicago; Manhattan College, New York; College of Mount St. Vincent, New York; St. John's College, Brooklyn, and these Seminaries: St. Mary's, Baltimore; St. Charles', Overbrook, Pennsylvania; the Mission House, Wash-

ington, D. C.; St. Joseph's, Dunwoodie, New York; St. Mary's, Cleveland, Ohio, and St. Paul's, St. Paul, Minnesota.

All the papers gave the utmost satisfaction to the Committee of the Historical Society to whom they were submitted for examination, because of the evidence thus presented of the serious interest manifested in critical historical work by students all over the country. The papers were ample testimony of the value of these contests in stimulating an incentive to produce results that had a very promising effect on the outlook for future research in the records of the past.

In making the decision by which the prize of one hundred dollars offered by the Society was awarded, the Committee held strictly to the conditions stated in the invitation to the contestants. In the Committee's judgment the paper submitted by Miss Marie T. Marique of the College of Mount St. Vincent, New York, best complied with these requirements and accordingly the prize was given to her. It was specially gratifying that in so spirited and so well-contested a struggle the victor should represent an institution in the forefront of the movement in its best sense for the higher education of women. That a college for women could carry off the prize from so many rivals of the sterner sex was an equally satisfactory surprise.

The second best paper was judged to be that submitted by Mr. W. Douglas Power of St. Ignatius' College, Chicago; and the third that from Miss Marie Adèle O'Connell, also of the College of Mount St. Vincent, New York. The formal awarding of the first prize was made at the annual commencement exercises of the College.

The United States Catholic Historical Society has determined to continue to offer this prize in an annual competition open to the students of the Catholic Colleges of the United States. The details of the next one will be announced in June.

Miss Marique's paper follows:

CATHOLIC DAY

By Marie Therese Marique

On June 20, 1632, a grant to Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore, passed the seals in Westminster. This grant was originally intended for George, first Lord Baltimore. His death occurring in April, 1632, it was given to his son and heir, Cecilius Calvert.

"The most serene King[1] of England desired that it should be called the land of Maria or Maryland in honour of Maria, his wife."[2]

"On St. Cecilia's day, the 22nd of November, 1633,"[3] a party of twenty gentlemen adventurers and 250 mechanics, artisans and laborers set sail for Maryland in the Ark followed by Baltimore's packet, the Dove. At the head of this party and as deputy governor was Leonard Calvert; accompanying him were Jerome Hawley and Thomas Cornwaleys as deputy commissioners for the government of the province. On March 5 they arrived in the Potomac and after sailing up the river for 20 leagues they landed on an island which they named St. Clement's. "In this place on Our Blessed Lady's Day in Lent we first offered, erected a cross and took solemn procession of the Country."[5] Thus on March 25, the feast of the Annunciation, Father Andrew White celebrated, as he thought, the first Mass in Maryland. This seems to have been the common belief of the times, but it has been established that "Father Segura and other Jesuit martyrs sacrificed in these parts before him."[6] However, no important series of events followed this first landing of Catholic priests on the shores of Maryland, whereas March 25, 1634. is a red letter day in the annals of our land.

From St. Clement's island, which is now known as Blackiston's Island, and of which only a sand bank is still visible, the settlers went up the Potomac and branched off into a lesser river. On the bank of this river they planted the first Catholic civic settlement in the original thirteen colonies. "On one side of this river," says Father White, "lives the King of Yoacomaco, on the other our plantation is seated, about half a mile from the water and our town we call St. Maries."[7] The Indians they found to be of a loving and kindly nature; in fact both parties seemed to be pleased with one another. The red men showed their good will toward the newcomers in no unmistakable way by giving them

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[1]Charles I.
[2]Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland, p.* 5.
[3]Ibid, p. 29. *A brief relation of the Voyage unto Maryland*—Father Andrew White, S. J.
[4]"Offered" means "offered the Sacrifice of the Mass."
[5]White, *Brief Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland,* Hall, p. 40.
[6]Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America,* Vol. I, p. 332.
[7]White, *Brief Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland,* Hall, p. 42.

their own town, and preparing the best hut for Father White who subsequently dedicated it as the first chapel of Maryland.

When Cecil Calvert founded this colony it was not his intention to make it a Catholic settlement. Indeed, it proved to be a refuge for the English Catholics of that day and an asylum for the persecuted in general. We must keep in mind that no specific mention is made of religion in the charter. Neither was there reference to this subject in any of the other charters. There has been much debate over the clause "according to the ecclesiastical laws of our Kingdom of England"; but it has been shown that this clause does not signify that only the Anglican Church could be established. We must remember that when Baltimore drew up his charter England was in a state of religious unrest, and had he dared to make any provision in it for Catholics his colony never would have been founded. The conditions of the charter were in consequence very liberal. Under its terms every one was free to practice his religion unmolested. A colony built on such a broad foundation was bound to prosper. It was the sixth permanent colonial settlement. In none of the earlier establishments was there any real freedom of worship, as one can easily ascertain by glancing at the early history of Massachusetts, Virginia and other colonies. Maryland therefore proved to be a haven not only for many inhabitants of Merry England but also for the persecuted dwellers of the new world.

To this new born province the Society of Jesus gave its most willing and unstinted help, undertaking to further and extend the planting of the colony. Father Richard Blount was then Provincial of the English Province; it was to him that Calvert applied for members of the Society "to attend the Catholic planters and settlers and to convert the native Indians."[8] As a result of this request Father Andrew White, Father John Altham and Thomas Gervase, a lay brother, were sent.[9] They found their mission a very promising one, for there was a great field for their apostolic labors not only among the Indians but also among the Protestant members of the colony. Between the years 1635 and 1637 three more Jesuits arrived, namely, Fathers Fischer, Brock and Poulton. As a natural consequence of their great successes among the Indians they received large grants of land.

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[8]Hughes, *History of S. J. in North America,* Vol. I, p. 248.
[9]*Woodstock Letters,* Vol. IX, p. 168.

According to the then existing conditions of Plantation their lands were not considered as legally acquired. To this the Jesuits protested that they were only subject to Canon Law and hence free from the decision reached in the Great Ordinance of 1638-9 that laws should be equally enforced against all. Lord Baltimore brought the matter before the highest authority of the Church for solution. He even applied to the Propaganda for secular priests to replace the Jesuits. However, in 1641 new conditions of Plantation were issued, Father Henry More, S. J., being then Provincial of the English Province. He promptly settled the whole question, certified that the conditions of Plantation were not contrary to the Bulla de Cœna Domini and returned all the lands obtained by the Jesuits from the Indians. Hardly had this serious misunderstanding been settled when civil war broke out in England. Lord Baltimore was placed under bonds not to leave the kingdom. In April, 1643, having made Giles Brent governor, Leonard Calvert went to England to see his brother. On his return in September, 1644, he brought with him new commissions for governor and council. The fact that all these were Catholics had much to do with Ingle's usurpation of the Government in 1645. This usurpation resulted in the banishment of the Fathers and the destruction of their work. Father White, who has so rightly been called the Apostle of Maryland, was deported to England,[10] tried and sentenced to banishment. He longed to return to the field of his labors, but advanced age denied him this pleasure. A most scholarly man and one of the most prominent English Jesuits of that time, his heart and soul was rapt in the one thought, the conversion of the red man. During his zealous Maryland activities he converted the most powerful Maryland chieftain, who not long after his conversion sent his daughter to be educated among the English at St. Mary's." We may conclude from this fact that already at this early date the Jesuits had begun the work of educating the young.

The General of the Society in his letter of September 15, 1640, to the Superior of the Maryland Mission says: "The act of establishing a college which you hold forth I embrace with pleasure and shall not delay my sanction to the plan when it shall have reached maturity." However, their plans met with constant

[10]Hughes, *Hist. of S. J. in North America,* Vol. I, p. 563.
[11]Annual letter of 1640.

opposition and the first period of their educational endeavors was brought to a close in 1646 when not a priest was left in the province.[12] But the Providence of God had decreed that this destruction would only be temporary. In that same year Leonard Calvert drove Ingle out and again assumed the governorship till June, 1647, when he rendered his soul to his Maker.[13] His last act was to name Thomas Green as governor until a successor should be legally appointed.

The year 1648 saw the return of the Jesuits and during the summer of that year Lord Baltimore prepared new measures for his province.[14] Was Father Henry More, S. J., Baltimore's adviser? This question has been raised several times before and there seems to be at least some evidence pointing in the affirmative.[15] Father More was a great grandson of Blessed Thomas More and the views which are embodied in Baltimore's measures show a striking analogy with the former's Utopia. Baltimore entrusted these new measures to Thomas Hatton who took possession of the records on April 2, 1649, and the General Assembly convened on the same day.[16] There were sixteen measures in all and the first to be passed was the Act concerning Religion. This act fulfilled Baltimore's pledge of religious freedom. The Assembly which passed this act had a plurality of Catholics,[17] and thus "in an age of cruelty like true men with heroic hearts they fought the first great battle of religious liberty."[18] Even the Jew, hated, despised and abominated, was tolerated in Maryland. We have on record the name of a Jewish physician, Dr. Jacob Lumbrazo, who resided there peaceably and practiced his profession profitably.[19] Another proof of Baltimore's fairmindedness and impartiality is found in his dealings with the Episcopalian clergy. It appears that they petitioned the English Government against the Proprietary demanding provision for themselves and stating that the Catholic clergy held lands for their support. Baltimore gave answer that the Catholics had acquired these under the "Conditions of Plantation," and

[12] *Historical Records and Studies*, p. 362, Vol. III.
[13] Neill, *The Founders of Maryland*, p. 66.
[14] Johnson, *The Foundation of Maryland*, p. 112.
[15] Ibid., p. 146.
[16] Scharf, *History of Maryland*, Vol. I, p. 174.
[17] Ibid, p. 177.
[18] Davis, *Day Star of American Freedom*, p. 250.
[19] Ibid, p. 65.

when advised to make provisions for the Episcopalians he refused on the ground that this would be showing preference to a religious denomination.

From the years 1634 to 1689 no man was molested or put to death on account of his religion; except of course, during the brief spaces of Ingle's occupation, the sway of the Protector's commissioners, and Fendal's usurpation. The Jesuits had returned to the field of their labors; although they had been absent for three years they had not given up the idea of establishing a college. Before their temporary banishment, as we previously stated, they had been preparing a way for this college by encouraging elementary education. They had one school at Newtown for the teaching of the primary branches (the three R's). With this school the name of Ralph Crouch will always be associated because of his educational and charitable work.[20] Protestants as well as Catholics were the friends of the cause of education; this is confirmed by reading the numerous bequests made at this time for free schools. Cotton's endowment was the first of its kind to be made for the establishment of a Catholic school in Maryland, and so far as is known on this side of the Atlantic.[21] Edward Cotton was an influential planter and Ralph Crouch's friend; he named Crouch his executor with Thomas Matthews. The will was drawn up on April 4, 1653. Cotton's endowment enabled the Jesuits to purchase in 1668 the manor of Mr. Britton, a wealthy neighboring Catholic. In the Annual Letter of 1681 we read that a school of humane letters had been founded four years before and was conducted by two members of the Society. At this time in addition to two lay Brothers there were in Maryland four Jesuits, remarkably erudite men, and it is not surprising that under their tutelage education was advanced and a classical school founded. The opening of the college at Newtown in 1677 was made possible by the increase in clergy; for in 1673 Father Massaeus Hassey and other Franciscans reached Maryland.[22] The college established at Newtown was the second institution of its kind opened in the original thirteen colonies, Harvard preceding it, and the first Catholic college started there. Among the early pupils of this college was Robert

[20]Burns, *Catholic School Sytem in United States*, p. 92.
[21]Ibid, p. 96.
[22]Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, p. 81.

Brooke.[23] Born in 1663 he entered the Society of Jesus at Watten, Belgium, in 1694, and was the first priest of the Order ordained from Maryland, and the first native born religious. It has also been stated that he was the first native born priest. The college at Newtown continued to prosper for several years. It was directed by Father Forster, S. J., and Mr. Hathersall, who was the only Jesuit scholastic ever in this country during the colonial period.[24]

The future of the Catholic Church in Maryland seemed full of promise when the Revolution of 1688 broke out ushering in an era of persecution which in Maryland lasted until 1776. Religious freedom repealed, a State Church established, an act passed forbidding the erection of a Catholic chapel without the consent of the assembly, suffrage denied to Catholics; all these a blot on the memory of the enactors but, in contrast with the former conditions, a glory to the tolerant, just and broadminded spirit of Maryland's founders. As might be anticipated this new state of affairs had disastrous effects on education. The Jesuits engaged in this work were scattered; Newtown languished, the last specific reference to it being in the will of Thomas Raisin on April 18, 1687, but it is probable that teaching continued there till 1698, the year of Thomas Hathersall's death.[25] In 1704 another deep stab was given it by the law which enacted:

"If any persons professing to be of the Church of Rome should keep school or take upon themselves the education, government or boarding of youth at any place in the province, upon conviction, such offender should be transported to England to undergo the penalties provided there by the Statutes 11 and 13, William III, for the further preventing of the growth of popery."[26]

This policy is all the more shameful as the perpetrators did not themselves do anything to further education. Indeed, in the year 1694 a bill had been passed for the setting up of a free school, but it was only brought to the king for his approval two years later. The result was King William's school at Annapolis. This school continued to be the only one in Maryland till 1723. The number of Catholics had dwindled down to less than one-

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[23]Ibid, p. 84.
[24]Burns, *Catholic School System in the United States,* p. 103.
[25]Ibid, p. 106.
[26]Shea, *Catholic Church in the United States,* Vol. I, p. 358.

twelfth of the population, and the rising generation of Catholics was sadly imperiled.[27] Again, the Jesuits came to the rescue by organizing a school at Herman's manor, Bohemia, on the eastern shore of Maryland. Here the three R's, history, Latin and perhaps Greek were taught, but there is no evidence that it ever went beyond the preparatory stage. The records of this school boast the names of many distinguished Marylanders, among them being the first two Catholic Bishops in the United States, namely, John Carroll and Leonard Neale, and that of Charles Carroll, the future signer of the Declaration of Independence. The school prospered, but it was not long before the searching eye of the persecutors fell upon it. The Anglican rector of St. Stephen's parish in particular made vigorous efforts to have the laws enforced on the directors. This was in the year 1760. The two Fathers who remained in 1765 were finally withdrawn and the school was closed.[28]

Up to this period there had been no attempt made to establish a hierarchy. It seems that Bishop Challoner, Vicar Apostolic of the London District, in 1756, first suggested it;[29] but there appeared to be impossible obstacles in the way. The spirit that moved the people was bitterly anti-Catholic, and, odd as it may seem all Protestants alike were strongly averse to ecclesiastical dignitaries of their own denominations. What a furore might have been caused if a Catholic bishop of all bishops had been sent or appointed from among those laboring here! To cap the climax the Society of Jesus was suppressed in 1773.[30] Then came the Revolution which at first proved to be another obstacle to the Catholic Church.

During the period preceding the War of Independence in spite of the suppression of the Society, the Jesuits continued to work in their former fields as secular priests; and it is possible that during the war they re-opened the school at Bohemia on a small scale.[31] Strange to say Father John Carroll, Benjamin Franklin, the Jesuits and the French Ambassador at Philadelphia, Mr. Barbe de Marbois, were all very oddly linked together in the

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[27]Burns, *Catholic School System in United States*, p. 109.
[28]Ibid., p. 116.
[29]O'Gorman, *A Hist. of the Roman Catholic Church in United States*, p. 347.
[30]Schwickerath, *Jesuit Education*, p. 175.
[31]Burns, *Catholic School System in United States*, p. 116.

founding of the hierarchy. Marbois, a scheming politician, urged Franklin to secure the nomination of a French subject who should reside in France and administer from there the ecclesiastical affairs of the United States.[32] The matter had gone far, but fortunately it came to the ears of Father Plowden, S. J., in England. He, Father Sewall and Father Mattingly of Maryland immediately did all in their power to persuade Franklin to give up this project. Their efforts convinced Franklin of the erroneousness of his conduct and he let the matter drop. So once more it may be quoted of the Jesuits: "The Christendom to which they had become so necessary and which in an hour was forced to do without them was yet to learn the unspeakable significance of such a deprivation."[33]

In response to a petition sent by the Maryland clergy to appoint a priest who should have the powers of a bishop, the Pope selected John Carroll *proprio motu*. His nomination was confirmed on November 6, 1784. February 27, 1785, marks the beginning of the American hierarchy, for on that day Father Carroll signified to Cardinal Antonelli his acceptance of the Apostolic Prefecture.[34] Five years later he was created bishop, his appointment being somewhat accelerated by the evils which lay trusteeism was causing in the adminstration of the Church in the United States. The lay trustees, it must be understood, were a body of men elected by the congregation to administer Church property. They had usurped almost every power in the parish, even to the hiring of the pastor! In Maryland all the Church property was in the hands of the Jesuits, who at the time of the suppression banded themselves together into a society known as the Gentlemen of Maryland. By willing the property to one of their number they escaped the evils and discordances caused by lay trusteeism.

In his Bull of November 6, 1789, Pope Pius VI., appointed Father Carroll bishop. The Bull contained injunctions for the opening of a college and a seminary. This clause was in strict accordance with the desires Bishop Carroll had long entertained. Georgetown was founded on January 23, 1789. Perhaps it is because this institution seemed to be a complete innovation

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[32] *Records and Studies*, Vol. I, p. 271.
[33] Schwickerath, *Jesuit Education*, p. 188.
[34] *Records and Studies*, Vol. VII, p. 7.

that writers are loathe to connect it with the former schools of Maryland. Not long after the registration of its first students, classes at Bohemia were closed. In the words of the Rev. J. A. Burns, "It is important to note the coincidence, for taken in connection with the fact that the new institution at Georgetown was founded by the Jesuits it goes to show that Georgetown College has a close historical connection with the Bohemia school and if we go farther back with the old college and school at Newtown, the second college established within the United States."[35] Bishop Carroll had in the meantime repaired to Lulworth Castle, England, where he was consecrated on August 15, 1790, by Bishop Walmesley. While there he occupied himself with the plan of establishing a seminary. Among the European prelates to whom he confided his plan was Mgr. Dugnani, the Papal Nuncio in Paris. While conferring with M. Emery, ninth Superior General of St. Sulpice, Mgr. Dugnani drew his attention to the new Bishopric of Baltimore and Bishop Carroll's intention of founding a seminary. With the consent and approval of his Society, M. Emery set himself immediately in communication with Bishop Carroll. The result was the arrival in Baltimore on July 10, 1792, of a company of Sulpicians and forthwith the establishment of St. Mary's Seminary. Father Stephen Theodore Badin of Orleans, France, was the first priest to be ordained there, thus deserving the title of Proto-Priest in the United States. In the records of the seminary for 1800 we find the name of Matthews probably the first American born student educated at St. Mary's.[36]

The first effort to establish teaching Congregations of women in the country seems to have been made by Father Charles Neale who succeeded in bringing four Carmelite nuns from Antwerp to found a convent at Port Tobacco, Maryland, in 1790. These Sisters, however, were loath to change their mode of life and the community did not begin to teach until 1832.[37] In 1792 three Poor Clares came from France, and, after an attempt to found a house in Frederick, Maryland, they opened, in 1801, an academy in Georgetown, the first Sisters' school in the original States, but

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[35]Burns, *Catholic School System in United States,* p. 117.
[36]*Records and Studies,* Vol. VII, p. 41.
[37]Shea, Vol. II, p. 385, Vol. III, pp. 53, 427.

the school did not prosper and in 1804 the Sisters returned to Europe.[38]

In the meantime, however, Father Leonard Neale, afterward Archbishop of Baltimore, an ardent advocate of Catholic education, had laid the foundation of the first American religious Congregation of women. In 1799, while President of Georgetown College, he invited to come to that town three pious women whom he had had for sometime under his spiritual direction, Miss Lalor, Miss Sharpe and Mrs. McDermot. They proceeded immediately to Georgetown and were domiciled for a while with the Poor Clares, but on June 24, 1799, they opened a school of their own, which was the first free school conducted by Sisters within the limits of the original thirteen colonies. It was out of this little band that grew the Order of the Visitation in the United States.[39]

Contemporaneous with the beginnings and growths of this Order was the founding and development of the Seton Sisters of Charity. Acting on the advice of Father Dubourg, Mrs. Seton, a widow of great talents and culture with a strong leaning to religious life, opened a school in Baltimore in December, 1808.[40] Very soon she was joined in her work by a number of aspirants to religious life, among them Misses Maria Murphy, Mary Ann Butler and Susan Clossy. At first, the little community called themselves the Sisters of St. Joseph,[41] but shortly afterwards they changed their name to that of Sisters of Charity and took up their residence in newly acquired quarters in Emmitsburg. Such were the humble beginnings of this great and typically American teaching Congregation.

More than two and three quarter centuries have elapsed since the first settlement of the Maryland Colony. It started on March 25, 1634, a seed being blown across the seas and dropped on *Terra Mariae*. It fell upon a virgin soil and for a while it grew unhampered and unmolested. But a day came when its young and tender roots encountered rocks, and its slender branches were lashed by the winds of adversity. Bent but never broken, it always sprang up and began the struggle anew; it

[38]Ibid, Vol. II, p. 212.
[39]Burns, *Catholic School System in United States*, p. 205.
[40]*Records and Studies*, Vol. IX, p. 79; White, *Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Seton*, p. 210.
[41]Sadlier, *Elizabeth Seton*, p. 98.

battled many years and in the end won its reward. It is no longer a tiny seedling thrown into an unknown country, but a mighty plant flourishing in the greater and fairer land of Mary, the United States of today.

Such is the history of the Maryland Colony. Many men have related it, and though it has "not the lustre which glares around the achievements of ambition or the triumphs of war"[42] there is something finer and nobler about it which will live and be handed down to the memory of the ages. For, was it not here in Maryland that public worship, religious toleration, Catholic education and the hierarchy first found their beginnings in the United States? Saint Mary's City, the first civic unit, was planted there, and, though the overthrow of the Proprietory was its knell, its name will ever be cherished by American Catholics. On the founder of the colony, full credit has been bestowed for these great achievements, but let us not forget those silent workers, the Jesuits, so often relegated to the background by bigots ever ready to attribute to others the harvest reaped by the valiant sons of St. Ignatius in all the fields of their labors. Recall that it was a Jesuit, Father White, who celebrated the first Mass for the nascent colony and called down the blessings of God on their undertaking. Again, but it is unnecessary to relate anew the long story of their heroic devotion to the Catholic cause in Colonial days, let us only repeat with the historian Scharf: "No stone marks the grave of these devoted men. Of the most of them even the names have passed into oblivion and of the rest we have little more than a few faded yellow lines of antique writing scattered among mouldering and forgotten archives. The tribes among whom they labored have since passed away. But their work has not perished with them, and if the peaceful, equitable and generous spirit which characterized the early days of the colony secured its growth and permanence, and has left its stamp upon Maryland institutions, is something to remember with pride, let it not be forgotten how large a part of this is due to the truly Christian example and teaching of the early Missionary Fathers."[43]

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[42]McMahon, *History View of the Government of Maryland*, p. 220.
[43]Scharf, *History of Maryland*, Vol I. p. 192.

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White, Rev. Charles T.....*Life of Mrs. Elizabeth A. Seton.* 1853.

NECROLOGY

Thomas Addis Emmet, M.D.

Thomas Addis Emmet, physician, historian, publicist, died at his residence New York City, March 1, 1919. Dr. Emmet was one of the earliest life members of the United States Catholic Historical Society for a short term its president, and for several years a member of the Executive Council. He was born May 29, 1828, at the University of Virginia of the faculty of which institution his father Dr. John Patten Emmet was a member. His grandfather, after whom he was named, was Thomas Addis Emmet, leader of the United Irishmen of the '98 rebellion in Ireland and of the New York Bar, when political persecution in his native country drove him in exile to this more hospitable land. Following a tradition for three generations in the Emmet family he studied medicine and was graduated in 1850 from Jefferson Medical College. His practice began in New York first at the Emigrant Refuge Hospital and then in the Women's Hospital. A very extensive private practice followed in which he attained a universally acknowledged professional eminence, to which a series of historical and scientific monographs and works and papers on the principles and practice of gynecology added materially. The collection of materials for the study of American history was his favorite recreation. On it he spent a fortune and then generously allowed his accumulated history of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence to be made one of the permanent treasures of the New York Public Library. He also enriched the records of the land of his ancestors by "The Emmet Family" (1898); "Ireland Under English Rule" (1903); "Incidents of My Life" (1912); "Memoir of Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet" (1915). Following the example of his patriotic ancestors he was an active participant in the effort to win back self government for Ireland and served during its existence as the President of the Irish National Federation. Dr. Emmet was a convert to the Faith and Pope Pius X made him Knight Commander of the Order of St. Gregory. He was also the recipient of the Lætare Medal.

William R. King

William Ryerson King, vice-president of the Society and a vice-president and director of the Standard Oil Company of New York, died suddenly in the west side subway station at 103rd Street and Broadway, New York, on December 30, 1919.

Born in New York City May 20, 1852, Mr. King graduated from the City College and passed his entire life in New York. In 1879 he joined the Standard Oil Company as a salesman, and reached the position of vice-president, taking charge of the domestic operations of the company. As soon as the news of Mr. King's death became known messages of sympathy were sent to the family from John D. Rockefeller, Sr.; John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and William Rockefeller. The board of directors of the Standard Oil Company held a special meeting and passed resolutions recording upon their minutes their appreciation of his life, his business talents and his personal worth. The flags on all the company's property both afloat and ashore throughout the world were ordered at half mast from the time of his death until after the funeral, and all business was suspended on the day of the funeral. The resolution also provided that the board of directors attend the funeral in a body, which was done.

Mr. King was most active in the support and progress of every good work in Catholic New York. The success of the Historical Society was one of his constant aims and he was assiduous in his attention as a member of its board of officers.

Thomas S. O'Brien, Ph.D., LL.D.

Dr. Thomas S. O'Brien, vice-president of the Society, and for many years one of its most zealous members, died on May 19, 1920, in his seventieth year at his residence, 210 West Seventy-fifth street, New York. Dr. O'Brien was born in Ireland and came to New York in 1866. He entered St. Francis Xavier's College and after an exceptionally brilliant course was graduated with the Class of 1870. His alma mater, in 1904, gave him the degree of Doctor of Laws and previously he had taken that of Doctor of Philosophy at New York University. After leaving college he served for a short time on the staff of the New York *Herald,* doing some notable work in astronomy and higher mathematics in connection with the transit of Venus of that

period. He then entered the service of the Board of Education and was appointed a teacher in the city's public schools. Here his abilities secured him early advancement to a principalship and then to the office of Assistant Superintendent. This important position he held for several terms, finally retiring in 1914. He was a member of the Council of the Society from February, 1905. and was elected vice-president at the general meeting held in February, 1920.

The Hon. Eugene A. Philbin

Justice Eugene A. Philbin of the Appellate Division, First Department, of the Supreme Court, died on March 14, 1920, in his home at 63 West Fifty-second street, New York, following an illness of only five days. He was stricken with pneumonia. Born in New York, July 24, 1857, Justice Philbin received his early schooling at Seton Hall, New Jersey, and at the College of St. Francis Xavier. He studied law at Columbia University, graduating in 1885. Immediately thereafter he began active practice of law and in 1913, when he was elected to the bench, was senior member of the firm of Philbin, Beekman, Menken & Griscom. In 1899 and 1900 Justice Philbin was a member of the State Board of Charities. At the expiration of the latter year he was appointed District Attorney by Governor Roosevelt. In the early part of 1901 he was appointed to the commission that had been organized to conduct an investigation of conditions at Ellis Island. During a part of the time he served as a member of the New York State Board of Regents. Justice Philbin was appointed to the Appellate Division in May, 1919, by Gov. Smith. His term would have expired in 1927. He was active in all New York Catholic movements and associations, and in 1908 was created a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Gregory by Pope Pius X.

Richard S. Treacy

Richard S. Treacy, for many years treasurer of the Society, died at his residence, 307 West 102d street, New York, in his seventy-sixth year, on January 27, 1920. Born in New York he made his studies at St. John's College, Fordham, graduating with the class of 1869. He was in the real estate business. Mr.

Treacy served as one of the Board of Managers of the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum from 1914 and was president of the Xavier Alumni Sodality 1891 and 1898.

Rev. Frederick M. Schneider

The Rev. Frederick M. Schneider, Rector of the Church of the Most Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, died on July 18, 1919, in Willemstad, West Indies, where he had gone for his health. Father Schneider was born October 31, 1864, in Brooklyn. When he was six years old his parents died and he found a home in the orphan asylum of the Holy Trinity parish of which he was president at the time of his death. He studied at St. Francis Xavier's College, New York, where he was graduated in 1886, and at the Jesuit Seminary at Innsbruck, Tyrol, where he was ordained on July 26, 1890. Father Schneider had been Rector of Holy Trinity church from August 18, 1908. He was vice-president and treasurer of St. Catherine's Hospital, and member of the Board of Managers of Leo House, on State street, New York.

Michael J. Keilty

Michael J. Keilty, died at his residence, Geneva, New York, January 20, 1920. He was born at Flagford, County Leitrim, Ireland, in 1859 and came to New York in his early years. In Geneva, Mr. Keilty was the head of the Keilty Dry Goods Company, and was known as one of the most progressive merchants in the vicinity. As a citizen he was actively identified with every movement in which the public welfare was concerned, and was held in very high esteem and known and respected for his uprightness and the good life he led. Mr. Keilty had no children. He left a widow, Mary M. Keilty, who by his will was left the bulk of his estate during her life, and at her death it is to be distributed among various charities. Among other bequests are: $500 to the United States Catholic Historical Society; $1,000 to the Geneva City Hospital; $4,000 to the Catholic Extension Society, in trust, to build a chapel in memory of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and in thanksgiving for favors received; $10,000 to St. Francis de Sales Church of Geneva, N. Y., for the benefit of the parochial school, and $2,000 to the same church for its convent; $1,000 to St. Stephen's Church of Geneva, for its con-

vent; $10,000 to the Knights of Columbus Home of Geneva, of which half is to be used in purchasing a library, and the balance invested and the proceeds used for the maintenance of the library and reading room; the residue to St. Bernard's Seminary of Rochester to aid in the education of deserving young men to the priesthood. About $7,000 was left to employees.

Edmund J. Curry

Edmund J. Curry died Dec. 2, 1919, at his residence, 28 East Ninety-fifth street, New York. Born in Ireland, he came to this country with his parents at a very early age. His boyhood was spent on his father's farm near the village of Niagara Falls. Mr. Curry came to New York City in the late sixties and engaged in business, in which he was very successful. He invested largely in real estate, and at the time of his death was the owner of many valuable parcels. As a young man he was a member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and when in later life he became the almoner of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, he used Vincentian methods and personally visited at their homes those recommended for assistance. For a long time prior to his death the deceased was an industrious member of the board of directors of the Catholic Protectory.

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INDEX

Volume XIII, May, 1919.

Compiled by E. P. Herbermann

Akularak, Alaska mission station, 97
Alaska, Catholic Missions in, 87-100; made Prefecture Apostolic, 97
America, and Roman Loan, 84-86

Badin, Rev. Stephen, at Buffalo, 164
Baltimore, Maryland, and San Domingo refugees, 35
Bapst, Rev. John, S. J., and Boston College, 101
Barnard, Lieutenant, killed at Nulato, 93
Barnum, Rev. Francis, S. J., at St. Michael's, 94; at Tununa, 95
Baron, Emanuel, and litigation over St. Louis' Church, Buffalo, 158
Bartlett, Dr. J. S., editor, 107
Beecher, Henry Ward, intolerance towards Catholics, 108
Bonaparte, Joseph at Trenton, 71
Boston College, Boston, 101
Bougis, Rev. P., S. J., and Alaska Missions, 99
Boury, Rev. D., and first Mass at Trenton, 66
Boyer, Jean Pierre, President of Haiti, 42, 43, 44; his dealings with missions sent to organize an ecclesiastical government, 45-50
Buffalo, New York, St. Louis' Church, and litigation over title to property, 158-164

Camille, Rev. R., S.J., and Alaska Missions, 100
Cardinals, American, portraits of, facing 140
Casas, Rev. Bartolomé de las, and Indians in San Domingo, 17, 18
Carney, Andrew, Philanthropist, 101-105; and Donahoe, Patrick, 103; and hospital, Boston, 103
———, Hospital, Boston, 103
Cataldo, Rev. J., S.J., and Alaska Missions, 99
Cathedral College, New York, organization of, 8
Catholic Women, League of, 150
Charity, Sisters of, and Carney Hospital, Boston, 103
Charlestown Convent, destruction of; accounts from contemporaneous newspapers, 107-119
Christian Brothers at Haiti, 56
Civil War, army statistics of, 129-139; and deserters, 129; 130; and nativity of soldiers, 131; 132; 134
Collins, Isaac, publisher, 66
Columbus, Knights of, and New York Catholic Campaign Fund, 150
Clancy, Rt. Rev. William, and mission to Haiti, 47; 48
Cook, Jebedee, and Charlestown Convent, destruction of, 111
Corduc, Rev. P., de, O.P., at San Domingo, 13.
Cosquer, Most Rev. Testard du, Archbishop of Port-au-Prince, 52; 53
Crimont, Rev. R., S.J., and Alaska Missions, 97
Curtis, Charles P., and Charlestown Convent, destruction of, 111
Cusack, Rt. Rev. Thomas F., Bishop of Albany (Necrology), 152-153

Devereux, Henry L., and Boston Pilot, 107
Devoy, John William (Necrology), 154-155
Deza, Rt. Rev. Pedro Suarez de, Bishop of La Concepcion de Vega, 13
Dominicans at San Domingo, 13; 22
Donahoe, Patrick, and Carney, Andrew, 103; and Boston *Pilot*, 107
Drake, Sir Francis, at San Domingo, 19
Dubois, Rt. Rev. John, letter of, 162-164
Dubourg, Rt. Rev. Louis W., 36

England, Rt. Rev. John, Bishop of Charleston and organization of the Church in Haiti, 45-49

Farley, Most Rev. John, Cardinal, Archbishop of New York, 140-151; activity during the world war, 150; and United States Catholic Historical Society, 140
Fenwick, Rt. Rev. Benedict J., Bishop of Boston, and Charlestown Convent, destruction of, 113-116; 119; and establishment of *The Jesuit*, 106.
Franciscans at San Domingo, 12
Frey, Joseph (Necrology), 157
Fuller, and Archbishop Seghers, 90; 91

Galbaud, Governor of San Domingo, 33
Gallipolis, Ohio, attempts to establish a French colony, 38.
Galloway, Joseph, on Loyalists during American Revolution, 165
Geffrard, Fabre, President of Haiti, 50
Geraldini, Rt. Rev. Alessandro, Bishop of San Domingo, 15
Gerard, Rev. ——, S.J., at San Domingo, 22
Gmeiner, Rev. ——, at St. Francis' Church, Trenton, 68
Gould, Dr. Benjamin A., and Civil War statistics, 132; 133; 135-139
Guilloux, Most Rev. Alexis, Archbishop of Port-au-Prince, 54

Haiti, attempts at organization of an ecclesiastical government, 45; Concordat with Holy See signed; its provisions, 50-51; independence declared, 40; religious unrest and want of ecclesiastical authority before the Revolution, 21-22; after the Revolution, 40; 43; Revolution in, and its immediate causes, 23-31
Hargous, Captain, John, and first Catholic Church in Trenton, 67; residence of, facing 70
———, Peter Amédée, and Archbishop Hughes, 78; and St. John's Chapel, Trenton, 68; services to Church in New York, 78-79
Harper's Place, trading post on Yukon, 90
Hayes, Most Rev. Patrick J., Archbishop of New York, 7-10; and Catholic Historical Society, 171-176; 176-177; and war activities (1917), 9-10
Higgins, Rev. James J., D.D. (Necrology), 153-154
Hill, Robert F., on insurrections in Haiti in 1793; 35; on people and conditions in Haiti since 1804, 58-59
Holy Cross, Catholic Mission on Yukon, 93

Indians at Nulato, 89; massacre by, 93
——— in San Domingo, and the Dominicans, 17; treatment by Spaniards, 12; 13; 17; gradual decline, 16; 18
Irish emigrations to United States in 1773 and 1774, 167

Jesuits in San Domingo, 22; 23
Jette, Rev. J., S.J., and Alaska Missions, 100
Judge, Rev. William, S.J., and Alaska Missions 94; 98

Kurilka (Cyril), Indian, 89

Le Clerc, expedition to San Domingo, 39
Le Couteulx, Henry, and litigation over St. Louis' Church, Buffalo, 158
———, Louis, donor of St. Louis' Church, Buffalo, 159; 160
Le Ruzic, Rt. Rev. Ignace, Bishop of Cayes in Haiti, 20-21; 22
Luchesi, Rev. J., S.J., and Alaska Missions, 100
Lyman, Theodore, Jr. and Charlestown Convent, destruction of, 111;118

McCloskey, Most Rev. John, Archbishop of New York, and Pontifical Loan in America, 84; 85
Mandart, Rev J., and Alaska Missions, 87; 89
Mary, Fathers of the Company of, at Haiti, 56

Missions, Catholic in Alaska, 87-100
Monroe, Rev. F., S.J., and Alaska Missions, 97
Monso, Rt. Rev. Alfonso, Bishop of Porto Rico, 15
Montesinos, Rev. ——, O.P., and Indians at San Domingo, 17
Mooney, John A., literary works of, 120-128
Moreau, General Jean Victor, and Sartori, 71-72
Muset, Rev. P., S.J., and Alaska Missions, 94

Nulato, trading post on Yukon, 89; 92; 93; Indian massacre at, 93

O'Brien, John J., on Loyalists in Revolutionary War, 165-168
O'Neil, Rev. Denis Paul (Necrology), 153
Otis, Hon. H. J., and Charlestown Convent, destruction of, 111
Owens, Joseph E (Necrology), 156-157

Padilla Rt. Rev. Francisco Garcia de, Bishop of Baynos, 10; 14; 15; assigned to See of San Domingo, 13
Parodi, Rev. A., S.J., and Alaska Missions, 95
Pepper, George, editor 106; 107
Perron, Rev. J., S.J., and Alaska Missions, 100
Pius VI, imprisonment and death, 64; and Napoleon, 63; and Truce of Bologna, 63
Portillo, Most Rev. Fernando, Archbishop of San Domingo, 16; 42
Post, Rev. J., S.J., at Akularak, 97

Ragaru, Rev. A., S.J., and Alaska Missions, 92
Rene, Rev. J., S.J., and Alaska Missions, 99
Robaut, Rev. Aloysius, S.J., and Alaska Missions 90; 92
Robertson, General James, on Loyalists during American Revolution, 165
Rodrigue, Alfonso, architect, 14
Rooney, James A. (Necrology), 155-156
Rosati, Rt. Rev. Joseph, Bishop of St. Louis, and Republic of Haiti, 49
Rose, Rev. M. A., O.P., 20
Russell, Justice ——, on Loyalists and Irish in Revolutionary War, 164; 166
Russian Fur Company and Indian massacre at Nulato, 93

Saint Joseph, Sisters of Cluny, at Haiti, 56
San Domingo, Island of, attacks by French and English buccaneers, 19; Blacks obtain control, 40; Catholic Church in (Pt. II), 11-60; Church conditions in 1917, 56-57; exiles from in United States; attempts at colonization, 35-38; French Assembly of 1790 and decrees relating to government policy of, 29; 30; 31; Indians, gradual decline, 16; treatment by Spaniards, 12; 13; 17; insurrections of Blacks in 1791 and 1793, 32; 33; 34; refugees in United States, 34-35; western end ceded to France, 20
———, See of, 13; archbishopric, 15
San Juan, created a See in 1511, 13
Sartori, Carlo, and Pius VI, 62; 63; portrait of, facing 62
———, John B., first papal Consul-General to United States, 61-83; portrait of, facing 62; residence, facing 70; and St. John's Chapel, Trenton, 67
———, Mrs. John B., 69; 70; 71; portrait of, facing 62
———, Louis Constant, Commodore U. S. Navy, 81
Scioto Company, 38
Seghers, Most Rev. Charles J., and Alaska Missions, 87-91; and Indians at Nulato, 89; narrow escapes and privations, 90; tragic death, 91
Sisters of St. Anne, and Alaska Missions, 93
Smith, Bryan (Necrology), 156-157

Tosi, Rev. Pascal, S.J., and Alaska Missions, 90; 92; 99
Treca, Rev. J., S.J., and Alaska Missions, 94

Trenton, N. J., earliest Catholic services, 66-67; St. John's Chapel, 67
Trivelli, Rev. A., S.J., and Alaska Missions, 100
Toussaint L'Ouverture, 39; 40

United States Catholic Historical Society, annual meeting, 169-181; Index, Historical Records and Studies, Vols XI and XII, 190-195; members, 182-189

Valera, Most Rev. Pedro, Archbishop of San Domingo, 42
Vega, La Concepcion de la, created a See in 1511, 13

Woofoin, Marie Basil Gaston de, escape from Haiti, 70; murder of, 70; at San Domingo, 69; 70
———, Henriette de. See Sartori, Mrs. John B.

INDEX OF AUTHORS

Barnum, Rev. Francis, S.J., Missions, Catholic, in Alaska, 87-100
Condon Peter, San Domingo, Island of, Church in, 11-60
Meehan, Thomas F., Civil War Army, Statistics of, 129-139; Necrology, 152-157; Note and Comment, 158-168
Peck, Fanny Morton (C. Cornelia Craigie), Sartori, John B., First Papal Consul-General to the United States, 61-83
Reville, Rev. John C., S.J., Farley, John Cardinal, 140-151
Riordan, T. J., Hayes, Most Rev. Patrick J. 7-10.
Treacy, Rev. Gerald C., S.J., Carney, Andrew, Philanthropist 101-105

INDEX

Volume XIV, May, 1920

Achilli. apostate priest, lecture by 62; Newman's description in libel suit, 63—arrested in Jersey City, 64
African Missions, Irish Province, priests of the, 120

Brocard, Rev. Ignatius, Provincial Maryland, 8
Bapst, Rev. John, and the "Ellsworth Outrage," 7; transferred to Worcester and Boston, 15; Superior in New York and death, 18.
Bacon, Bishop, lays cornerstone St. John's Church, Bangor, 15
Beecher, Henry Ward, attacks Catholic Church, 32
Barron, Rev. Dr. Edward W., 120

Converts, New York High Church Many, 21.
Connor, Jeremiah, property gifts to St. Louis, 94
Catholic Day, Intercollegiate History Contest, 181
Curry, Edmund J. (necrology), 199

Digges, Mrs. William Dudley, 112

Evans, Attorney General George and Know Nothings, 14
Emmet, Dr. T. A. (necrology), 196

Friendless, Bigotry in Home for the, 41

Gabriel, the Angel, unsavory record, 38
Gratiot, Charles, 80

Hughes, Archbishop, on Know Nothing Hypocrisy, 36.
Herald, the Ellsworth, anti-Catholic tirades, 11
Hastings, Matthew, painter, 73
Hayes, Archbishop P. J., address, 174

Ives, Dr. L. S. Defends the Church, 67

Jesuits in South America, 154; reasons for expulsion from Paraguay, 156

Know Nothings in Rochester, 20, 34; in State elections, 52.
Kelly, Rev. John, 121
King, William R (necrology), 197
Keilty, Michael J. (necrology), 198

L'Enfant, Pierre Charles, death 112; national memorial, 118
Liberia, Mission to, 120
Leahey, "Ex-Monk," anti-Catholic lectures, 23; character exposed, 26; mobbed, 29; arrested for murder, 31

Mullanphys of St. Louis, 70
Mullanphy, Bryan, education, 100; will of, 104; litigation over, 106.
———, John, death, 70; career, 71; and Bishop Carroll 78; and Father Badin, 81; at Battle of New Orleans, 83; descendants, 87; gifts to charity, 96.
Morgan, James Dudley, collector L'Enfant papers, 112.
McKim, commission the, 117

O'Hanlon, Canon in St. Louis, 102
Old Town Mission, Maine, 8
O'Brien, Thomas S. (necrology), 200

Philbin, Justice Eugene A., 197

Refuge, House of anti-Catholic Rules, 47.
Roberts, Leon, anti-Catholic lecturer, 65

Shepherd of the Valley, first religious periodical in St. Louis, 70

Schneider, Rev. F. M. (necrology), 198

Timon, Bishop, reply to anti-Catholic attack, 21
Treacy, R. S. (necrology), 198

United States Cath. Hist. Society, General Meeting, 160; Index, RECORDS AND STUDIES, Vol. XIV, 208; list of members, 201.

Young, Moses, 114

Walsh, Senator David I, on "A Layman's Impressions of Catholic Conditions in the Far East."

INDEX OF AUTHORS

Downing, Margaret B., The Dudley Morgan Collection of L'Enfant Papers, 112.

Kelly, Rev. John, Diary of the Mission to Liberia, 120
Kenny, Rev. Laurence, The Mullanphys of St. Louis

Marique, Marie Thérèse, Prize Essay on Catholic Day, 182
Meehan, Thomas F., The Mission to Liberia, 120; General Meeting, 160; necrology, 196.
O'Hara, Rev. John F., C. S. C., The Jesuits in South America, 154

Treacy, Rev. Gerald C., Father John Bapst and the "Ellsworth Outrage," 7.

Zwierlein, Rev. Dr. F. J., Know Nothingism in Rochester, New York, 20.

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